

THE ANTIQUARY'S



BOOKS




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THE ANTIQUARY'S BOOKS

GENERAL EDITOR: J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE OLD SERVICE-BOOKS
OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH



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A page of a fifteenth century Prymer, (the common medieval layfolks prayer book) From the Brit. Mus. MS. 2 A. XVIII.

THE OLD SERVICE-BOOKS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

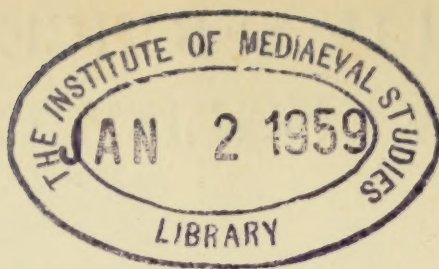
BY

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AND

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TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D.

SIXTY-EIGHTH BISHOP OF SALISBURY
SUCCESSOR TO ST. ALDHELM, ASSER, ST. OSMUND
AND RICHARD LE POOR
AND PRECENTOR IN THE PROVINCIAL COLLEGE OF CANTERBURY

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

BY THE COMPILERS

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PREFACE

IN the following pages an attempt has been made to place before the reader a clear description of the plan, range, and contents of all the books which were used for Divine Worship in the English Church before the Reformation.

The accounts of the various books have been written for the most part directly from the old service-books themselves, in several cases from books which were formerly in use in specified parish churches.

The dates of the various old service-books consulted for the compilation of the present volume extend over nearly a thousand years, and it is a circumstance not devoid of interest that some of the books which have furnished the material for this work were in use for many centuries. Some books, on the other hand, were quite new, and had been printed a few years only when their use came to an end, and the Book of Common Prayer was substituted for them.

The general outline and classification of the main service-books is not difficult to understand. Some books are less clear in plan than others, but most of the old books are far from complicated, and many are exceedingly simple in their arrangement.

In the present volume one whole page of every important and common service-book is given in facsimile, each page having been carefully selected to show the arrangement of the text of the particular volume represented by the one page. With the aid of these facsimiles and the description of each book, the reader will find no difficulty in determining at any time the name and nature of any of the common medieval service-books with which he may have to do.

A certain number of miniatures have also been reproduced from service-books. Some of these, in colours, depict services taking place — baptism, wedding, etc. These little pictures give a minute representation of actual scenes which must have been very familiar in our old parish churches.

At the end of the account of each service-book a note will be found (wherever it is possible to give it) indicating some modern edition of the old book described.

As regards the joint authorship of this book, it may here be stated that the two writers have thought it best to portion out the work between them, and by signing each chapter—or, in certain instances, each section—with an initial L. or W., to make the one or the other of the two responsible for its contents. At the same time, there is hardly a single section of the book wherein the writer, who has thus undertaken it, has not availed himself of a few notes or paragraphs which his colleague has suggested or contributed.

It only now remains for us cordially to express our thanks to those gentlemen to whom we are more par-

ticularly indebted for aid in our task. To Mr. Bickley and to other officials of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum we are very greatly indebted, as for many years past, for ever-ready and sympathetic help in all difficulties. To Mr. Shead, of the same department, and to his assistant we beg to record our sense of their invariable courtesy and readiness to facilitate the examination of often a very large number of MSS. successively. We are also under very considerable obligation to many officials at Oxford, Cambridge, and Lambeth; and to the Rev. Walter Howard Frere for several suggestions.

Finally, our thanks are due to Dr. Cox, the general editor of this series, and to the Publishers, for their friendly willingness to meet every reasonable request connected with the arrangement of this volume. To each and all of these gentlemen we beg to express our very grateful sense of their kindly courtesy and assistance. We should be grateful to any reader for the correction of any mistakes, and for reference to any volumes of particular age or interest which we may have overlooked.

H. L. AND C. W.



THE OLD SERVICE-BOOKS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

IN "the Age of the Saints" we may picture to ourselves the missionary in this country leaving his monastery and setting up his cross for preaching among the heathen, near some spring or stream, where he could christen those who should hear the gospel and believe.

His congregation, necessarily, had no books, and he himself had, at most, his Gospel-book and Psalter in his wallet.

It was on the flyleaves of such books that, when they had gathered round them a body of faithful people, the priests of the later Celtic Church wrote such short forms of prayer as were needful for visiting, anointing, and communicating folk in sickness, or for other pastoral offices.¹

When St. Gregory's missionaries came over in the last years of the sixth century, that noble Father in God sent,

¹ See the specimens from the "Book of Deer," "Book of Mulling," etc., collected by Mr. F. E. Warren, in his *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*.

by the hands of Mellitus in 601, for the Angles, whom he prayed and longed for, a set of books which were believed at Canterbury to be still in their possession in medieval times. The books to which T. de Elmham pointed in the fifteenth century as the "*primitiae librorum totius Ecclesiae Anglicanae*," or, as Dean Stanley expressed it, "the mother books of England—the first beginning of English literature, of English learning, of English education," were nine in number, viz. :—

Biblia Gregoriana, tom. i.

Biblia Gregoriana, tom. ii.

Psalterium Augustini.

Textus [St. Mildredae] Euangeliorum.

Psalterium.

Textus.

Passionarius i.

Passionarius ii.

Expositio super epistolas et euangelia a dominica tertia
post octa. Paschae, vsque ad dom. iiij. post octa.
Penthecostes.

A MS. of Elmham's *Historia*, written about 1414–18, is now at Trinity Hall, Cambridge.¹ It contains a picture of the high altar of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Below the Majesty (upon the beam), and on a screen or reredos behind, and a little higher than, the altar ("*super tabulam magni altaris*," as Elmham describes it), just behind the reliquary of St. Ethelbert, and near an arm reliquary, and other filatories (*phylacteria*), are shown six (or twelve) large volumes with clasps; and above these *codices* is written their designation, "*Libri missi a Gregorio ad*

¹ *Alcuin Club Collections*, 1899, i. pl. 9.

Augustinum." It is just credible that one or two of these inestimable books are still in existence.

Two Gospel-books of (about) the seventh century have claimed the name of "*St. Augustine's Gospels*" (At Oxford, Bodl. MS. 857, etc., Auct. D. 2. 14; and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker MS. 286; Wordsworth and White's codd. "O" and "X" of the Latin Gospels), while the late Professor Swainson (*Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, p. 1724) was inclined to accept MS. Cotton Vesp. A. 1. in the British Museum as the veritable "*St. Augustine's Psalter.*"¹

We know on the testimony of Egbert, Archbishop of York, in the middle of the eighth century, that it was believed that St. Gregory sent over (and apparently by the hand of Augustine himself) two other books, viz.:—

Antiphonarium suum (*sc.* B. Gregorii).

Missalis liber. (Migne, *Patrol Lat.*, 89, p. 441.)

Although these precious volumes are hopelessly lost, Mr. Rule claims to have recovered the text of the latter (with portions of the *Antiphonarius* in the palimpsest passages) from a Missal written, *cir.* 1099, at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, cod. Parker, 270.

St. Gregory himself was principally instrumental in compiling adequate service-books; and our Venerable Bede, in the next century but one, attributes to him (though some scholars attribute it to Archbishop Theodore) a policy

¹ See Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra Pict.* tab. 11, Nos. 1-5, 40; id. *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*, pp. 49, 50; id. *Miniatures*, p. 10. The *Palæographical Society's* facsimiles, vol. i., plates 33, 34, 44. Haddan and Stubbs, *Concilia*, iii. 60 n. Dugdale, *Monast.*, i. 121.

of tolerant common sense towards that variety of liturgical "Use" in rites, of which his predecessor Innocent I. had taken note in his letter to Decentius in 416. Even in St. Jerome's time this diversity in rites and ceremonies had been noticed by the anonymous writer who is conveniently identified with St. Sylvia Aquitana; as, somewhat earlier, the mother of St. Augustine of Hippo had observed a divergence in ceremonies between Rome and Milan. The writer of Spelman's "*Codex vetustissimus*,"¹ not far from the time of Bede, distinguished at least six varieties of liturgical *cursus*,² and he takes no notice of that which was introduced into Ireland by St. David, St. Cadoc, and Gildas, in the latter part of the sixth century. "*Cursus decantandus*" appears, as a rule, to be applied to the "*Cursus psallendi*." Here it seems to include the manner of singing "*Sanctus*," "*Gloria in excelsis*," etc., which belongs to the liturgy of the altar, though "*Gloria in excelsis*" was in early times a psalter hymn.

Attempts have been made at various periods and in different quarters to produce uniformity in ritual and in ceremonial, but such attempts have met with only a limited success. The *Creeds* of the Church can be rightly called "Catholic," the Christian Faith may answer to the test of "*ubique*" and "*ab omnibus*," and (in a certain sense) of "*semper*" also; but in no sense can we rightly use the term "*Catholic*" of *ceremonies*, or even of *rites*.

In 561 the Council of Braga enjoined uniformity in the

¹ Cf. Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton Cleop. E. 1, and Haddan and Stubbs, *Concilia*, i. 138-40.

² *Cursus Romanus, Gallorum, Scottorum, Orientalis, St. Ambrosii, et St. Benedicti.*

divine service of mattins and evensong, and at the same time forbade the introduction of poetic compositions ; but in later ages no Church except that of Lyons could pretend to have lived up to that standard. In our own country, a century and a half after the time of Gregory and Augustine, the Council of Clovesho, in 747, directed liturgical conformity with the "*exemplar*" received from the Church of Rome, and the canonical hours and martyrology. The establishment of new sees and new cathedral churches in the active period of the Norman Church about 1090-92 produced, or emphasised, a measure of diversity in England. The three churches built within those three years—York, (old) Sarum, and Lincoln—each produced its own liturgical "Use," with some measure of individuality.

It was, probably, the constitution of the Chapters of these cathedral churches, and the chartered privileges of their Canons, Deans, and Bishops, which made them to be objects of imitation in other places ; and when copies of their charters were requested, a summary of their customs of divine service was sometimes sent with them.

Sarum privileges were confirmed in Scotland for Glasgow in 1172, and the Sarum customs in 1259 ; the latter occasion was within eight months of the hallowing of the high altar in the cathedral church in Salisbury, then virtually completed, and it is interesting to observe that a copy of the first nine chapters of Bishop Poore's *Consuetudinarium* was sent to Scotland on that occasion.

In like manner Lincoln customs were sent by request to Moray in 1212, at which date Hugh of Wells was Bishop

of Lincoln. In 1242 (while Grosseteste was Bishop of Lincoln) the chapter of Moray (meeting at Elgin) confirmed the Lincoln constitution, and the manner of the Dean's election, "*juxta quod obtinet in ecclesia Lincolniensi*," but for the divine offices "*in psallendo, legendo, et cantando, ac aliis ad divina spectantibus*," they adopted the "*ordo qui in ecclesia Salisbyriensi esse noscitur institutus*." In 1213 St. Patrick's, Dublin, was made a cathedral church. In 1225, when the eastern part of the new cathedral church at Salisbury had been dedicated, and the daily mass ("*Salve*") of the Blessed Virgin instituted by Bishop Poore, H. de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, was among the celebrities present, and he acquired a copy of the Consuetudinary of the then Bishop of Salisbury, which was preserved at Dublin. Two years earlier Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, introduced one or two services "*secundum ordinale Sarum*" for his church in Wales. At a still earlier date (1226) the College of SS. Stephen Lawrence, Vincent and Quintin, founded at Mereval, Hants, was directed to sing divine service "*iuxta Sarebiriam*," and in fact it was declared that by the year 1228 the *instituta Osmundi*, the famous Norman prelate of Old Sarum, were already adopted far and wide, by the time when the great Dean and Bishop of new Salisbury¹ was finishing his share in building up the church and in revising or codifying the customs of the chapter and its services. Thus the testimony given by chroniclers, and by Pope Gregory IX. himself in 1228, and Calixtus III. in 1456, that the ordinal of Sarum, which was ascribed to St. Osmund (though he was not canonised until 1456),

¹ Ri. Poore, Dean of Sarum, 1198; Bishop of Chichester, 1215; Bishop of Sarum, 1217-37.

was followed and adopted throughout "the Church of England," or "in England, Scotland, and Ireland."¹

The collections of Oxford and Cambridge College Statutes, and the documents collected in Dugdale's *Monasticon* and Wilkins' *Concilia*, show how widely Sarum Use was introduced in colleges (*cir.* 1300-1444, and again in 1545 and 1555), and in other foundations (*cir.* 1226-1444). Clement Maydeston, one of the early scholars of Winchester, who became a "deacon" of Syon convent (though in priest's order), and died in the year of St. Osmund's deferred canonisation, testifies to the high repute of Salisbury as having a sort of Congregation of Rites in its chapter, though he taunts the Sarum folk of his own time with sad degeneracy. He gives in his *Crede Michi* a series of answers on debated questions from *viri experti de usu Sarum*, and Mr. Frere has printed the *responsa* of a certain learned succentor there in 1278-9.

The York *modus psallendi* was mentioned in conjunction with that of Sarum in 1286 (for the College of Chester-le-Street), and again in 1292 (for Bishop's Auckland), although the founder in both instances had been a secular canon of Lincoln, and his monastery at Durham had its monastic Durham Use at least in 1515.² In 1123 the "*liberties* of London or Lincoln, and of Sarum or York," are mentioned in connexion with St. Mary's College, Warwick. Those four great churches had also their specific liturgical *Uses*. But the law of the survival of the strongest prevailed; and the introduction of printing,

¹ For the references and authorities in the text see Chronological Table appended to *Lincoln Statutes* (Cambridge, 1897), iii. pp. 830-45, 860-88, and W. H. Frere, *Use of Sarum*, i. pp. 13-42.

² "Duo portiforia antiqua ex nostro vsu" (*Durham Account Rolls*, i. 253).

and the principles of supply and demand, combined to bring about the swallowing up of St. Paul's Use and that of Lincoln in the *usus Sarum*, while the York Use¹ still fairly held its own in the northern province, and Hereford only made a gallant little stand on the Welsh border.²

In December, 1415, the Use of St. Paul's, London, was discontinued for divine service (though not their local ceremonies) in favour of that of Salisbury, and that of Lichfield seems to have given place to the Sarum ordinal some ten years later. It was not until 1542 that the Convocation of Canterbury prescribed the adoption of the Sarum Breviary to the clergy of the entire southern province, perhaps as a step towards the introduction of the reform contemplated in the *Rationale* of 1542-3, and the Breviary projected by Cranmer in 1543-7, or in consequence of the printing of the first of King Harry's *portiforia* in 1541, abolishing the title of the Pope and the commemoration of St. Thomas the martyr. In 1557 was prepared further an article which would have swept away the Missals and Breviaries of the "*sancta*" et "*insignis ecclesia Ebor*" also; but Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole died before the Convocation met. Meanwhile, pending

¹ A service-book of York Use, if it contains the Litany, may easily be distinguished from books of Sarum or Hereford Use because it mentions "*archiepiscopum nostrum*" in the intercession for the clergy.

² In anno 1414 (2 Hen. V.), October 15th, Ri. Clifford, then Bishop of London, by consent of Dean and Chapter, ordained that from 1st December following, to begin at evensong, "the solemn celebration of divine service therein," which before that time had been according to a peculiar form anciently used and called "*Usus Sancti Pauli*," should thenceforth be conformable to that of the Church of Salisbury for all canonical hours, both night and day (ex autogr. penes Dec. et Capit.—*History of St. Paul's*, Dugdale, ed. 1818, p. 16. A monastic cathedral (Rochester) in 1543 adopted the Sarum ordinal. *Use of Sarum*, ii. 234.

the Cardinal's visitation, John White, Bishop of Lincoln, had in August, 1556, directed his Dean and Chapter to adopt Sarum Use, "*tam cantando quam legendo, ac eciam ceteras ceremonias peragendo*," by Easter, 1557 (April 18th).

In 1558 and in 1568, as in more recent times, it has been the avowed policy of the Church of Rome to aim at ritual uniformity everywhere. Somewhat earlier in 1541, and in 1549, the Tudor kings and councillors had desired to bring about a like conformity to one form of service throughout this realm. The Preface to the Prayer-book of 1548-9 says: "Where heretofore, there hath been great diversitie in saying and synging in churches within this realme: some folowyng Salisbury vse, some Herford vse, some the vse of Bangor, some of Yorke, and some of Lincolne: Now from henceforth, all the whole realme shall haue but one vse." In accordance with this, King Edward VI.'s Injunction, or Order for bringing in popish rituals, 14th February, 1549-50, specified "all antiphoners, missales, grayles, processionalles, manuelles, legendes, pies, portasses, jornalles, and ordinalles after the use of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *Yorke*, or any other private use, and all other bokes of service" varying from the new book, to be "defaced and abolyshed" by the ordinaries.

Hitherto every Bishop had been free, after consulting his chapter, to exercise his *jus liturgicum*, or right to decree rites and ceremonies within his diocese, subject only to such orders as were passed from time to time in the synod of the province wherein he was a suffragan. Almost every see of which we can investigate the records show sign of one or more of its Bishops having exercised this right.

The ordinal of Wells is extant, and one of our fac-

similes shows an appeal to it as regards the Maundy Blessing of the Oils, in which its directions were precise. At Chichester or Norwich it might merely be a special service for the local saint, or some ceremony at the censuring of the choir peculiar to the cathedral chapter; while at Exeter some Bishop might arise like J. de Grandisson with a special talent for liturgies, who, after examining the rite of Sarum as well as those formerly in use in his own diocese, might feel confident that he could himself compile something better suited to the traditions of the farther west than the unmixed work of St. Osmund and Ri. Poore. And this new Use of Exeter might reach further than to the cathedral church or city: to Ottery, and to the parish churches of Devon and Cornwall. The enormous diocese of Lincoln stretched from the Humber to the Thames, and it was only natural that at least its outskirts should be affected by Sarum Use, if jealousy of York kept them free from northern influence. Lincoln minster had its own customs of divine service written down by local experts (*cir.* 1258-79), but it is clear that other Uses (particularly that of Sarum) obtained in the diocese; and even in the minster itself the discordancy of antiphoners was mentioned at the visitation in 1437. We find books undoubtedly used in the Lincoln diocese which are only distinguishable from Sarum by having local additions in honour of St. Hugh. Such is the Hambledon Missal, which will be described below, and likewise a Missal of the same period (*cir.* 1400) now in the British Museum (Add. 11,414). On the other hand, it is on record that Bishop Gray had borrowed from his chapter a Portos of Lincoln Use about 1435. Mr. Peacock has found a curious record about an

“antiphonare, some tyme of Lyncoln vse, and now of the vse of Sarum,” which existed at Louth in 1486; which looks as if that book at least could be transformed from the one Use to the other by a little penmanship. It may be that the inquisition for old service-books was more than usually thorough in that diocese in the middle of the sixteenth century, and even Bishop White appears to have been consenting to the proposed suppression of his diocesan peculiarities under Cardinal Pole. At all events, we can point only to one fragment, in the Bodleian (Tanner MS., iv. 133), which is on the face of it *secundum vsum Lincoln*. This unique fragment consists of a few leaves of the early part of a Missal of the fifteenth century, differing especially in the sequences from that of Sarum.¹ The booksellers and printers, in fact, did what they could to make the transition toward uniformity easy, as the newspapers have done with the picturesquely various spelling (and alas! sometimes also have gone far, rudely to abolish the good English) of the letters of our ancestors. The printers of Sarum books allowed a line or two in their kalendars to the peculiarities of London, Lincoln, and even Hereford;² while a page or so here and there was devoted to the local needs of Lichfield, Lincoln, and Ely, and (in the case of the Sarum antiphoner of 1520) for Norwich.

¹ The Lincoln fragment was edited by Dr. Henderson in 1872 for the Surtees Society's *York Missal*, ii. 343-8.

² We say “*even*” by no means out of disrespect to Hereford, but merely because some effort was also made to print editions of their local Use at Rouen, a *Missale Herford* in 1502, and a *Breviarium* in 1505, the former already reprinted for Dr. Henderson, the latter now ready for the H. Bradshaw Society. We hope to have with it Mr. W. H. Frere's observations on the rise and development of Hereford Use, in his *Breviary*, i. 20.

The Sarum Breviaries of 1492 and 1531 found likewise a place for collects in honour of SS. Wolfhad, Rhadegund, Modwenna, and Edith.¹ St. Wolfhad was connected with Peterborough and Lichfield, St. Rhadegund with Cambridge (and Poitiers), St. Modwenna with Burton-on-Trent (and Scotland), and St. Edith either with Wilton, near Salisbury, or with Polesworth, in Warwickshire. Whether these collects were put in with a view to meeting the wishes of the faithful in those districts, or because the four saints were special patrons of one who undertook the printing of the Sarum book, it seems impossible to say.

York being an archiepiscopal church with jurisdiction co-ordinate with the northern province, it was only natural that its rites should be committed to the printing press.

The Roman Missal was printed at Milan in 1474, and the Roman Breviary at Turin in the same year; but before an edition had been produced from the city of Rome itself Salisbury seems to have had its *editio princeps* of the Sarum Breviary, and Milan its *Missale Ambrosianum*; and a year or so after the Roman edition of the *Missale Romanum* appeared Caxton was at work at Westminster upon his "pyes of the use of Salisbury." The issue of Sarum and York books may be briefly summarised:—

¹ See *Brev. Sar.*, ed. Cantab., 1882, fasc. I., facing p. i. There was an altar of St. Rhadegund, founded by Bishop Richard, at St. Paul's, London. (*Registr.*, 458.) This dedication occurs also in the Abbey of Bradsole, Kent, and in Exeter Cathedral. *St. Paul's Eccl. Soc. Trans.*, i. 183. The Benedictine nunnery of St. Rhadegund at Cambridge was founded in 1133.

CLASS OF SERVICE-BOOKS, ETC., PRINTED.	USES.			
	SARUM.		EBOR.	
	Period.	Editions extant.	Editions extant.	Period.
Accentuarius	1508-55	15	0	—
Antiphoner	1519-20	1	0	—
Breviary	1475-1557	47	6	1493-1555
Diurnale	1512	1	0	—
Festyval	1483-1532	22	0	—
Grail	1527-32	3	0	—
Horæ	1478-1559	252	8	1510-56
Hymnal	1518-55	8 *	1	1517-18
Legenda	1491-1518	2	0	—
Manuale	1497-1555	31	2	1509-30
Marliloge (Syon) in English . .	1526	1	0	—
Missal	1487-1557	66	5	?1509-33
Ordinale or Pye	1477-1508	12	1	1509-10
Processional	1502-58	24	3	1530-55
Psalter	1503-30	10	10 †	1503-30
Pystils, etc. . . .	1538-53	? 11	—	—
Sequences, etc. . . .	1496-1519	25	1	1507
<i>Nova Festa</i> supplements (various)	1480-97	8	—	—

Besides the two printed books of Hereford Use (the Breviary of 1505, and the Missal of 1502) two extant printed books of other Uses may be mentioned.

The Aberdeen Breviary, printed at Edinburgh in 1509-1510, in two volumes, an adaptation made by Bishop Elphinstone from that of Sarum. Also a monastic Breviary, *in vsum nigrorum monachorum Abendonie, ordinis sancti Benedicti*, printed at Abingdon itself, likewise in two volumes, in 1528.

* Mr. Jenkinson discovered an earlier (Paris) edition of the Sarum *hymni cum nota*, of the year 1518, after the Cambridge edition of the Breviary was published.

† The Psalter was a Sarum-book, with an appendix of additional York hymns.

The earliest known Missal of the Sarum type is assigned to the *scriptorium* of St. Alban's, *cir.* 1095-1105. Lanfranc had died in 1089. St. Osmund himself died in 1099, so that the St. Alban's Mass-book at Oxford (Bodl. Rawl. Liturgy, c. 1.) may just possibly, if it be not a survival, be taken as representing the liturgical work of that important period.¹ The removal from Old Sarum to Salisbury, in the days when Ri. Poore was first dean (1198-1215), and, after a short interval at Chichester, then (1217-37) Bishop of Salisbury, was another epoch of ritual activity. Of that date we have a Sarum Grail (Brit. Mus. Add. 12,194), a Custom-book (Salisbury Registry), and an Antiphoner (Camb. Univ. Mm., ii. 9). In the spring of 1279 recourse was had to the succentor of Salisbury, J. de Middleton, to define the doubtful points found in the *Ordinale*. A new Ordinal is supposed to have been written (by precentor Welbeck) about 1345, and another about 1360. In 1390 we find a rector of Marum, in Lincoln diocese, bequeathing to his clerk "a Missal of the *new* Use of Sarum." A century later the introduction of printing had secured for this powerful Use the certainty of surviving until the great changes in the time of Edward VI. Even after that, it was revived under Queen Mary, from 1553 to 1558; and the title "*iuxta usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*" was still retained in the service-books, printed at Douai in 1604 and 1610, and

¹ See Dr. J. Wickham Legg's *Missale Westmonast.*, iii. p. 1423. His liturgical introduction, iii. 1406-34, gives the most scientific account which we have of the mutual relation and differences of the Missal Uses. Some account of the external evidence of the connexion or distinction of the cathedral customs is collected by Mr. W. H. Frere, in his *Use of Sarum*, i. pp. xiii.-xlii. And C. W.'s Chronological Table, appended to *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, iii. (pp. 824-59), may be consulted.

smuggled into England for the use of "popish recusants."

OF THE TIMES OF SERVICE

Before we treat of the service-books in detail, it may be well to state what little we know for certain as to the times when divine service was said in our English churches.

An English Council (Celchyth) in 816 mentions the seven tides or times when bells knolled to church, and the same Council mentions incidentally baptism (by immersion), the celebration of the Mass, altars, and administration of the Eucharist to the people; and the recitation of masses, psalms, and paternosters, at the Bishop's death. This was thirty-three years before the birth of Alfred. A litany in procession was Augustine's earliest public act of worship in this country, 220 years earlier.

In mediæval times the clergy were still bound to say their Mass, and to prepare for it by some of the seven canonical hours,¹ and to say the remainder of them after the holy sacrifice.

In the fourteenth and subsequent centuries chantry priests and chaplains began to multiply, some having the obligation to sing their chantry Mass, or to serve their chapel of ease, perhaps only once or twice a week. It was not uncommon for them to be required to join the parson in his canonical hours in the chancel, and to assist him at Mass when possible, and at the Easter or other festival communions.

For the ordinary lay-folk, to be present at Mattins and Mass, and at second Evensong (and possibly at the "first

¹ Usually Mattins (with Lauds), Prime, and Terce. In fasting days of various degree the principal Mass was postponed till after Sext, or Nones, or combined with Evensong, as the case might be.

Evensong" on the previous day),¹ on Sundays and holy days, to be shrived in Lent and houselled (or communicated) at Easter, and to join in a litany or procession now and then, was good and sufficient church-going. For the rest, to be shrived if there was anything heavy on his conscience, or if the circumstances of his life, holy matrimony, a vow, a long journey or pilgrimage, or the proclamation of a "pardon," led him to desire an additional communion, and to take part in other sacramentals as occasion served, he would be ready; and he would find parson and clerk ready to help him to the occasional offices. The clerk would remind him² when his turn came round to provide the holy loaf and candle for the *benedictio panis* on the coming Sunday, and would bring him holy water to his house, and expect his usual egg or penny in return.

In the following time-table, we attempt to give, as nearly as we can discover it, the rule or custom for a day at Lincoln Minster in the Middle Ages in summer-time.

In winter the principal variations were, that Mattins (which was at daybreak in summer) was, by what seems now a curious arrangement, at midnight in winter; that the choristers had no playtime on the dark evenings before their supper; and that the searchers or watchers (the lay-sacrist, the watchman, the candle-lighter) were obliged to make a second scrutiny by night, because, the minster having been unlocked for midnight Mattins, thieves might have then slipped in, and might be in hiding, ready to carry out stolen treasures when the doors should be re-

¹ *Dives and Pauper* speaks of "Evensong at afternoon in the Saturday and in the Sunday." See also Dr. Legg's *Duties of a Parish Clerk* (H. B. Soc.), p. 78.

² By handing him a special slice or "*cantell*" on the previous Sunday. Surtees Soc., xxi. 281.

opened at second peal next day. Our time-table has had to be drawn from the records of two or three centuries, and so far is partly tentative and uncertain.

The writer attempted in his *Medieval Services* (1898) to sketch the course of a day spent in Lincoln Minster. He must content himself here with the briefest summary of

A LINCOLN MINSTER TIME-TABLE

ABOUT 1400, IN SUMMER

- 5 a.m.—Mattins at daybreak (after five peals of bells). Three masses in *aurora*. Lauds.
- 6 to 8.—[First *Ave*-bell.] Other Masses by chaplains.
- 8 to 9.—Chantry Masses by thirteen priest-vicars.
- 9 a.m.—The Lady Mass. Prime. Chapter meeting. Terce. (Procession. Holy water. Other Masses meanwhile at side altars.)
- 10 a.m.—High Mass. Sext. Nones.¹
- 11 a.m.—Dinner in hall.
- 12 noon.—[Second *Ave*-bell.] Choir boys at school.
- 1.30 p.m.—First peal, followed by four others.
- 3 p.m.—Evensong. *Placebo* and *Dirige*. (Collation in Lent.) Compline. Boys at play.
- 6 p.m.—[Third *Ave*-bell.] Boys' supper. *Salve Regina*. Prayers in dormitory. (The *Ave*-bells, later than 1400.)
- 7 p.m., or sundown.—Curfew. Scrutiny in the closed church. Searchers' supper. Watchman plays the flute to mark the hours. (Choir recite Psalter all through the night, changing relays at midnight, if there is a canon lying dead.)

From the York Minster *Fabric Rolls* of 1519 (pp. 263, 269, 270, 273), and from a later document of Abp. Robert Holgate's days, we learn the times of the principal services

¹ See *Use of Sarum*, i. 89, 105. Roger de Mortival's statutes, however, in 1319, cap. 45 (pp. 73, 74, ed. 1883), speak of "*hora nona, quae dicitur immediate post mensam*." (I should conjecture, "*missam*.")

at the Cathedral, and also at a prebendal church in Yorkshire.¹

AT YORK MINSTER.			
BELLS AND SERVICES.	A.D. 1519.	A.D. 1547.	
		Winter.	Summer.
Ring to Mattins . . .	4.30 a.m.	—	—
Mattins	—	7 a.m.	6 a.m.
Mattins finished . . .	6.30 a.m.	—	—
Chantry Masses of Vicars	—	8 to 10 a.m.	8 to 10 a.m.
Prime bell to stop . .	9.15 a.m.	—	—
Parish Masses	—	—	—
Procession	—	—	—
High Mass	—	9 a.m.	9 a.m.
High Mass ended . . .	10.30 a.m.	—	—
Evensong and Compline .	—	{ 2 p.m., or 2.30 p.m. }	3 p.m.

AT MASHAM PREBENDAL CHURCH.		
BELLS AND SERVICES.	A.D. 1519.	
	Winter.	Summer.
<i>Ave</i> -bell	6 a.m.	6 a.m.
Bell for Mattins	6.30 a.m.	6 a.m.
Mattins	7.30 a.m.	7 a.m.
Mass on week-days	9.30 a.m.	9 a.m.
Mass on holidays	10 a.m.	10 a.m.
Second <i>Ave</i> -bell	12 noon.	12 noon.
Bell for Evensong	1 p.m.	2 p.m.
Evensong	2 p.m.	3 p.m.
Last <i>Ave</i> -bell	6 p.m.	6 p.m.

¹ Masham, or Massam, the richest prebend in York Minster, has a township partly within the liberty of St. Peter's, York, and a vicarage with that of Kirkby Malzeard (Mowbray Castle), and a peculiar in the court of Masham, in the archdeaconry of Cleveland and diocese of Chester. In 1831 the population numbered in the town 1,171, and in the country parish 2,767.

A few further particulars may be gleaned from the *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys* of 1545-6 as to the times of the chantry Mass in some of the northern churches.

The two rood-priests at Ripon said Mass about four a.m. and seven o'clock respectively, before the image of the rood, in the rood-loft. There was also (in Queen Mary's time) a Mass in St. George's loft (ii. 369 *n.*). At Skipton in Craven, at the chantry of the rood, the priest said Mass at six a.m. in summer, and seven in winter, "when he is disposed" (ii. 243).

In the church at Pontefract, where there were 2,000 houslyng people (Easter communicants), the morrow-Mass of Corpus Christi Gild was done by five o'clock. The priest of our Lady's chantry (appointed by the mayor) said his Mass at eight, and the St. Rock's chantry Mass followed at nine. There was also a Rushworthy chantry priest. Three of these priests were to help the parish priest in his duties, the other to survey the roads (ii. 273-5). At Wakefield, where there were 2,000 communicants, or more, the morrow-Mass priest said Mass for all servants and labourers in the parish at five o'clock (ii. 311). It was likewise his duty to "keep the queyer at all divine service" in the church (ii. 311). At St. Agnes Fosse Bridge, in the parish of St. Denys, York, there had been a chantry Mass between eleven a.m. and twelve noon. But in the sixteenth century it was put early, between four and five a.m., by the desire of the parishioners, so as to suit travellers (i. 61). At St. Katherine's altar in Rotherham Church, Mass was at six a.m. all the year round, and on Saturday there was a Lady Mass at eight o'clock (i. 206-7). For the Gild of the Rood at Tikhill there was a special Mass at six on Monday and Saturday;

and the Jhesu Mass on Fridays at nine (i. 186; cf. ii. 254, 302).

At St. George's, Doncaster, besides the principal services, Mattins, Mass, and Evensong, which were sung daily *cum nota*—probably at six (or seven), about nine, and at two (or three)—there were six chantry Masses, at each hour from five to ten a.m., there being eight priests of the St. Nicholas chantry, founded in 1323 by a former vicar, T. de Fleteburgh. These all, with the vicar, were fully occupied through the five weeks of Lent up to Palm Sunday, hearing confessions, and then in administering "the blessed sacrament, all the sayd weke," to above 2,000 people (i. 175). We may thus with tolerable confidence give a time-table for Doncaster. Possibly the two chantry priests whose turn it was to serve as deacon and sub-deacon at the High Mass that day did not say a chantry Mass. Or, as was the case with some of the chantry colleges at Lincoln, they may have had a private oratory in their chantry house.

DONCASTER, *cir.* 1540

- 5 a.m.—Mass of first priest of St. Nicholas.
- 6 a.m.—Mass of second priest of St. Nicholas.
- 6.30 a.m.—Mattins in choir *cum nota*.
- 7 a.m.—Mass of third priest of St. Nicholas.
- 8 a.m.—Mass of fourth priest of St. Nicholas.
- 9 a.m.—Mass of fifth priest of St. Nicholas.
- 9.30 a.m.—Mass at high altar *cum nota*.
- 10 a.m.—Mass of sixth priest of St. Nicholas.
- 2 p.m. (or 3 p.m.).—Evensong in choir *cum nota*.

HOW THE CHURCHES WERE USED

The reader may fairly ask for a short account of the services for which our parish churches were used.

In the Middle Ages, as now, this would a good deal depend upon the staff of clergy and their personal character and activity.

An English parish priest was required to say his office of Mattins, Prime, and Terce before singing his parish Mass on Sundays and holy days.¹ It was perhaps left to his discretion whether he would say those preliminary offices openly in the church, or privately elsewhere. Sometimes, where there were several chantry priests attached to a church—and perhaps the majority of parishes in the fifteenth century had one or more (it might be perhaps five or six in the better endowed churches)—they were required to say divine service with the parson daily, or at least on Sundays and holy days, in their habit, “in the high quire.” But then, even as now (apart from the chantry priests’ Masses), the church was rarely used on Sundays more than three times, *i.e.* for Mattins at 6 or 7, for High Mass at 9, and for Evensong at 2 p.m., 2.30 p.m., or 3 p.m. But with “Mattins” (we conjecture) Lauds and Prime would be amalgamated; Terce and procession, with blessing of the holy water and the holy loaf, would precede the Sunday Mass, though it seems probable that the congregation would not stay while the priest said his Sext and Nones after celebrating. “*Ite, missa est*,” and the indulgenced “*In principio*” would dismiss them.

¹ On week-days, Sext also; and on penitential days, Nones besides; and on Ember Saturdays, Evensong (*Provinc.*, iii. tit. 23). On Easter Even the Mass was still later, for it was originally the first Mass of Easter Day.

The bidding of the beads, and now and then a sermon, would accompany the Mass. The censuring, the offertory and *lavabo*, as well as the sacring and elevation, the passing round of the pax-brede for the kiss of peace, and the "*Ite, missa est*" (or its equivalents) would be points in the service especially appreciated by the laity. Again, Evensong (very rarely followed by procession) might have Compline and anthems of our Lady attached to it. To attend these three principal services on Sundays was good and sufficient church-going. To be shriven at least in the beginning of Lent, and perhaps again before being houselled at the Easter communion, was the practice of all reputable parishioners. The *minimum* of one yearly communion, at Easter, was put forward by the Lateran decree in 1215; and our present rule, enjoined at Eanham in 1009 under St. Alphege, and again at Lambeth in 1378 under Simon Sudbury (for confessions also), that every one should communicate *thrice* a year, was not by any means generally observed.¹ Monthly communion (in the case of the Lady Margaret, d. 1509) was a miracle of saintliness. Where there was but one priest in a parish there would be but one Mass in the day,² except at Christmas and Easter, when he would say three. It is inferred that the time for the communion of the lay-folk, when they did receive, was after the High Mass, perhaps the only Mass in the day. But where there were chantry priests, or chaplains, there would be so many additional Masses on Sundays; and in some churches one or more of these priests would say a Mass daily, about six a.m., or later, and occasionally as early as four or five, for the benefit of

¹ See the Devonshire *Manifesto*, at their rising in 1549.

² *Council of London*, A.D. 1200, Canon 2.

servants, labourers, and travellers; in other churches there would be Mass on Wednesday and Friday, said by the morrow-Mass priest, the rood priest, the gild priest,¹ the Jesus chantry priest, etc. In some places there was a Mass of our Lady sung on Saturday as well as Sunday (*Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, ii. pp. 251, 254; cf. i. 31, 191, 206). In some cases this Mass was at six a.m.; at Doncaster it was at nine. At Tickhill (i. 186) the service of the rood was a Mass at six on Monday and Saturday, and the Mass of Jesus on Friday at nine. In some cases the priest was to celebrate "*when he is disposed*" (ii. 243, 293, 368). At Hutton Wandesley, or Merston, one was to "sing or say Mass, *dirige*, and divine service," at our Lady's altar; but we do not notice the requirement of the offices for the dead in other Yorkshire chantries, except in the minster or city itself. Probably, however, the injunction to pray for the founders' and other Christian souls involved the *dirge*, etc., as well as a *memento* at Mass. The first Evensong of Sunday was sung on Saturday afternoon, when work was stopped.

Dr. Rock mentions that sermons were preached after dinner (*Ch. of our Fathers*, i. 70-71 n.),² as well as at Mass, and sometimes in the churchyard (iv. 192, 229).

As to the length of time occupied by the services, it is, of course, difficult to say at what pace they were sung or read in former times; but, so far as we can ascertain, a plain Mass, said not too rapidly, would take half an hour. Mattins and Lauds, recited with decent pauses,

¹ The gild priest of our Lady, at Topcliff, Yorks, was engaged to say Mass and pray for the benefit of "parochiens," living and departed, and to bring up six children, with whom he was "to kepe the queyer" on all holy and festival days, and to provide the "song-books" (*Yorkshire Surveys*, i. 88).

² *i.e.*, i. p. 60 n. in ed. 2 (1903).

would not take more than an hour and a quarter; but, as *sung* in a cathedral church, nearly two hours. High Mass would be done on an ordinary day within forty or forty-five minutes; but with censings, etc., in a cathedral church, it might run to an hour and a quarter. Even-song from half an hour to an hour, according to circumstances. Prime and chapter service (apart from any business meeting) from twenty to twenty-five minutes.¹ Compline and the day hours, and office of the Blessed Virgin, would be plainly recited, and would not occupy much time.

Parish churches would be used, as need required, for christenings, weddings, funeral services, and churching of women. As baptisms involved fasting, and at weddings the bride and bridegroom took their first food at the wedding breakfast, save only the sops in muscadel, "*vel aliud bonum potabile*," as the Sarum rubric says, in church after Mass of the Holy Trinity, these services were done in the forenoon (cp. *Taming of the Shrew*, iii. 2).

Chaucer speaks of a funeral taking place before the bell rung for Prime (*Pardoner's Tale*). Also of a wedding at the time of "undern," or Terce (*Clerk's Tale*). But the old priest at St. Luke's Church was at the command of couples to be married "at all hours," and apparently was ready to take a wedding, at a pinch, "in an afternoon" (*Taming of the Shrew*, i. 4).² Juliet proposed to the Franciscan Friar Laurence to go to confession "at evening Mass," *i.e.*, presumably, on a vigil when (as the Sarum

¹ We are indebted to Mr. Edmund Bishop for some hints on this subject; but it would not be fair to make him responsible for our statements.

² For a wedding at five p.m., see p. 63.

rubric says of the "still days" in Holy Week) *missa simul et vesperae finiuntur*.¹ Representations of French and English church interiors in Lent, when confessions were being heard and discipline inflicted, may be seen in Rock's *Church of our Fathers*² and Frere's *Exposition de la Messe*, Alcuin Club, ii., plate 19. Plates 18, 22, show a friar preaching in the churchyard at Septuagesima, and a Dominican preaching in the fields. These, though French, show customs similar to those in England. Plate 1 shows a bishop blessing people from the pulpit. An Italian, visiting England about 1500, thought it worthy of note that English men and women always heard Mass in their parish church on Sunday, and attended Mass every day, and said many paternosters in public, the women carrying long rosaries of beads in their hands, and those who could read recited in a low voice the office of the Blessed Virgin, two in company together, in church. (*Ital. Relation*, Camd. Soc., p. 23.)

Dr. Rock tells us (*Church of our Fathers*, ii. 502-8) that after a death *Placebo*, or Evensong of the Dead, was sung overnight, and the Dirge, or Mattins of the Dead (followed usually by two Masses), in the early morning. Then, after breakfast, the solemn Mass or *Requiem* was sung, and

¹ *Romeo and Juliet*, iv. 1. Brev. Sarum, I. pp. dcclxxxv., dccxciv. *Use of Sarum*, ii. p. 69. As a matter of fact, the very day in which poor Juliet is said to have been sleeping in the tomb, to avoid her marriage that Wednesday, 24th July, 1303, at Verona, was such a vigil. Shakespere's apothecary at Mantua has closed his shop (v. 1, li. 56) because it is a holiday, after the lovers' parting. We therefore do not accept the suggestion of H. von Friesen, cited in Professor Dowden's charming *Shakespere: His Mind and Art*, p. 39 n., that no Catholic could have spoken of "evening Mass." The dramatist, for artistic reasons, compresses the action into a shorter time than his author had given to it, and makes her awake and kill herself a week earlier, on Thursday, July 18th. ² Tom. iv., p. 224, ed. 1.

there was the offering of the Mass-penny by the friends, after which they went to the burial, and thence to the funeral dinner.

THE BOOKS PROVIDED OR REQUIRED:

(A) BOOKS REQUIRED BY AUTHORITY.

By whom Service-books were to be Provided.—When Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons at their visitation called upon the parishioners to replace worn books and to supply deficiencies, the question of responsibility became a subject for decision by authority.

For the province of Canterbury a constitution, usually ascribed to Archbishop Winchelsey, 1305 (or else to Simon Islip, 1368), was decisive, and took its place in our Canon Law.¹ It put upon the parishioners the onus of providing, among other church goods, the following books:—

Antiphonarium,
Gradale,
Legenda,
Ordinale,
Psalterium,
Manuale,

Missale,
Troperium (as well as the
osculatorium or pax,
etc.);—
and “reparationem lib-
rorum.”

Rectors or Vicars were to be responsible for such things as were not specified in the constitution. The gloss explains that the “Processionale” is included under the term “Manuale,” and the “Sequenciarius” under “Troperium.” Thus the southern clergy would be obliged to

¹ Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, iii., tit. 27, “*Si rector*,” § 2, “*Ut parochiani*,” pp. 251–3. Archbishop Gray had practically given the same rule for the York province in 1250.

provide nothing but their portoses or Breviaries, which they would require in many cases for private recitation of some, at least, of their daily offices. But even here the gloss steps in and rules that the "Antiphoner," which the parish has to provide, must be of such a character as to comprise the Invitatories, Hymns, Responds, Versicles, Collects, Capitula, *et alia que pertinent ad decantationem horarum canonicarum*. So that if a parson chose always to say all his "hours" in church, he could do so from the Great Antiphoner, Psalter, and Legenda without possessing a Breviary of his own at all.

An archdeacon of Dorset's charge, *cir.* 1480-85, accordingly admonishes the churchwardens that they are bound to have a good and sufficient "portuorie, legend, antiphonar, sawter, masse booke, manual and pie," the last being the equivalent of the "ordinale." Probably the mass-books at that day were sufficiently noted to obviate the absolute need of a Gradual and Troper; and the Portos contained a sufficient Legenda. (*Fasti, Eccle. Sarisb.*, p. 131.)

For prebendal churches the Dean and Chapter of York had a special Chapter Act (in force at least about 1315-45), that the parishioners should provide the Mass-book, but that the Canon or Prebendary¹ should be responsible for all the other books, and that the Vicar should bind and cover them when it was necessary. (York Fabric Rolls, 164, 260.)

¹ '*prebendarios, et firmarios perpetuos.*' (Fabric Rolls, p. 164.) In the cathedral churches the Chapter provided the books and had them bound when new. Afterwards the Chancellor had to provide the expense of repairing and rebinding the *Legenda*, and the Precentor had to do the like for the other service-books, aided sometimes by charitable gifts and bequests. (*Lincoln Statutes*, iii. 299, 301, 393.)

What Books were Required.—We may gather from the records of visitations held by Bishops and Archdeacons, and by Deans and Chapters in their peculiars, as well as from the *Provinciale* of Lyndewode, and the acts of provincial and diocesan synods, what books the clergy and the parishioners were expected to have in every church.

Following the lines of a very clear exposition of the subject contributed by Henry Bradshaw to Dr. Cox and Mr. St. John Hope's *Chronicles of the Collegiate Church or Free Chapel of All Saints, Derby*, in 1881, reprinted as an appendix, pp. 423-6, in Mr. Prothero's *Memoir of H. Bradshaw*, 1888, and elsewhere, we may classify the medieval service-books as books used for the services of—

- (i) The different hours, said in the choir ;
- (ii) Processions, in the church or churchyard ;
- (iii) The Mass, said at the altar ;
- (iv) Occasions such as Marriages, Visitation of the Sick, Burial, etc.

And we may enumerate them as follows, as they were required or named at various dates.

An asterisk indicates that the book in question is specifically (or, when enclosed in parentheses, that it is virtually) required in the authority to which the numbered column is devoted. A hyphen implies that the book in question is not mentioned or required by the document so indicated.

TABLE OF BOOKS REQUIRED.

ARMA SACERDOTALIA.	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
(i) Antiphoner . . .	*	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Breviary, or Portos . . .	—	—	*	*	*	—	—	—	—	*	*	*
Capitulare . . .	—	—	*	*	—	—	(*)	—	*	—	—	—
Collectare . . .	—	—	*	*	—	—	*	—	*	—	—	—
Computus, Gerim, } Kalendar, Numerales }	*	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hymnary . . .	—	—	*	*	—	—	*	—	*	—	—	*
Legenda . . .	*	*	(*)	(*)	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	—
Martiloge . . .	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Passionale . . .	—	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ordinal . . .	—	—	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	—
Consuetudinary . . .	—	—	—	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pye . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	*	—
Prymer . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
Psalter . . .	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	*	—
Song-book . . .	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Venitare . . .	—	—	(*)	—	—	—	*	—	—	—	—	—
(ii) Processional . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(*)	*	—	*
(iii) Epistle-book . . .	—	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gospel-book . . .	—	*	*	(*)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grail . . .	—	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	*
Missal . . .	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Troper . . .	—	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	—	—
(iv) Baptisterium . . .	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manual . . .	—	(?)	—	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Shrift-book . . .	*	*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

The Roman numerals (i)–(iv) in the margin correspond with Bradshaw's classification of books and services just cited. The authorities and dates indicated by the numbers of the columns are these :—

1. *Cir.* A.D. 766–91. The Penitential (*ad remedium animarum*), ascribed to Egbert, and by Maskell and older writers to Bede (*De remediis peccatorum*). *Mon. Rit.*, i. p. xv.; Haddan and Stubbs, *Concilia*, iii. 417.

2. *Cir.* A.D. 995, *al.* 1006. Ælfric's Canon, xxi. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 252; Johnson's *Canons*, i. 395, and note. (Spelman, *Conc.*, i. 577, reading "*passionale*" for "*pastorale*.") "Hand-boc" is so like "*Manuale*" that we have placed a note of interrogation on the second column, though we do not identify the two books.

3. A.D. 1220. Visitation of Sarum peculiars by the Dean and Chapter. *Osmund Register*, i. 276-312.

4. A.D. 1224-6. Similar Visitations, *ibid.*, i. 314, 311, 295-6. (The *Legenda*, *Venitare*, and *Gospel-book* do not appear to have been required when not found, but their presence at certain parish churches is noticed, as also is that of *Lives of Saints*, at Sunning; and *Pastorale Gregorii*, *Liber Sermonum*, and *Decreta Pontificum*, at Heytesbury.) The absence of *Ordinale* and *Consuetudinarium* is noted in 1224, but not at the earlier Visitation in 1220.

5. A.D. 1240. Synod held by Walter Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 666.

6. A.D. 1250. Provincial synod by Walter Grey, Archbishop of York. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 698.

7. A.D. 1287. Synod held by Peter Quivil, or Wyvill, Bishop of Exeter, cap. 12. Wilkins, *Conc.*, ii. 139.

8. A.D. 1305. Constitutions of Merton, c. 4, by Ro. de Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury. Cp. Spelman, *Conc.*, ii. 433-4; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, i. p. xx.

9. A.D. 1433. Gloss in the *Provinciale*, lib. iii., tit. 27, by Lyndewode, p. 251, on the aforesaid Constitutions of Merton. He interprets "*antiphonale*" in such a way as to require a full Antiphoner or Breviary, or else a Hymnal and Collectar (including *Capitula*), etc.

10. A.D. 1472, 1481, 1510. York Visitations. *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, pp. 253-67. (It should perhaps be

added that the defect of a Psalter was noticed at Alne in 1365, and of "*duo libri tonarii vocati*" at the minster in 1400 and 1409, pp. 243, 244, 246.)

11. A.D. 1485. Form of charge of an Archdeacon of Dorset, in Sarum diocese. *Fasti Eccl. Sarisb.*, p. 131.

12. A.D. 1544. Licence (in Breviary preface) to Ri. Grafton and E. Whitchurch, *ad imprimendum solum*.

(i) We may observe that the "Antiphoner" is not mentioned in column 2. Perhaps the "sang-bec" of Ælfric and Leofric's time was practically the same. Mr. Frere is convinced that this contained music both of the Gradual and the Antiphoner. In the earlier period the "Breviary" was hardly in existence; later it was not required by the synods, because it might fairly be expected that the priest would have his own Portos. After Breviaries came into use a *Collectare*, and *Capitulare* became a book of state, which at that period could hardly be required from a poor or reluctant parish. When almost every kind of service-book included its own kalendar, the separate "Gerim," or "Computus" and "Numerale" were hardly necessary: an equivalent would be found in one of the other books. The "Hymnary" and "*Venitare*" would be comprised in the noted Breviary or *Antiphonale*. The "Passional" was rendered unnecessary by the Breviary and Legenda. In fact, where a full Breviary existed, even the "Legenda" was not indispensable. The "Ordinal" begins to be required in Bishop Poore's time: it is no longer asked for when Breviaries contain a pye. The "Consuetudinary" is inquired for about 1224-6, and never again. In course of time, like the "Ordinal," it was spreading itself over all the service-books in the form

of *rubricae generales*. The "pye" appears after Clement Maydeston, and in the days of Caxton. The "Prymer" was not a service-book for "common" or public use. It only finds a place in our list out of congruity. When printed Breviaries came in, a separate "Psalter" could hardly be required as *de rigueur*.

(ii) It is noteworthy that hardly any attempt was made to require parishioners to find the "processioner," except that Lyndewode takes it to be comprehended in the "*Manuale*."¹

(iii) When *full* Mass-books became general, Epistle- and Gospel-books were not an absolute necessity; in fact, an old, worn (or in some respect obsolete) Missal was occasionally used by the epistoler and gospeller; and it was not every parish that had a deacon, or any epistoler but the clerk. The "Grail" was at first found in the "song-book"; later, the Archdeacon of Dorset seems to have felt that his churchwardens might fairly plead that they could get on well enough with a Mass-book in its place. The "Missal" is the solitary book which appears in all our columns without one exception. The "Troper" in the later centuries came to mean the book of sequences, and the later Missals and Grails included these (see Lyndewode, *u.s.*).

¹ The fact seems to be, that as a lawyer (and after 1442, a bishop), W. Lyndewode in the fifteenth century has to interpret thirteenth century Constitutions, which had been made in the days when the old Graduals and Antiphoners comprised some such items as by his own time had come to be relegated to a separate book, known as the "*processionale*"—a kind of book which had hardly been invented when Archbishop Wa. Cantilupe presided. He feels bound, therefore, to *read into* the old canon law some requisition for these necessary forms which the later Grails and Antiphoners had ceased any longer to provide. The term "*Manuale*" alone seems comprehensive enough to include what was required.

(iv) The "Baptisterium" was probably an embryo *Manuale*. I do not think that the "Manual" queried in column 2 ("hand-boc" in Ælfric's original) was really a book of the same kind as those which came to bear the Latin name "*Manuale*" in England. Such books were not developed until the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and answered to the continental "*Rituale*," with some additional peculiarities. With due deference to such a scholar as Maskell, I am inclined to think that even Lyndewode, as late as the fifteenth century, felt that the name "*Manuale*" was rather a comprehensive one; he includes not only "omnia quae spectant ad sacramentorum et sacramentalium administrationem; item benedictiones, tum fontium, quam aliorum, secundum usum ecclesiasticum benedicendorum," but also "ea quae sunt usitata in *processionibus*." The primary reason why the "*penitential*" (Leofric's "scrift-boc") is mentioned¹ in the first and second, and not in the subsequent columns of our table, is that the former lists enumerate the tools, implements, or instruments ("*arma*") of the *priest*, while the later columns refer to those books which the *parishioners* had to procure for the purposes of public worship. In later times, the curate would find a certain amount of information as to sins and absolution in the *Manuale*,² and even in one edition at least of the *Portiforium*;³ but if he were in earnest about his duties to his flock, he would probably have upon the shelf "at his beddes heed," or on a desk, or in his chimney corner (or else in the sacristy, if his church contained one), some such book or books as "*Pupilla oculi*," "*Pars oculi*," "*Manipulus curatorum*," "*Dives and Pauper*," if not one of the collections of

¹ Under the name of "shrift-book." ² *Salisb. Cerem.*, p. 247. ³ 8vo, 1499.

Penitential Canons of an earlier date, or some "*Pastorale*." (See Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, cxvii. n., cxviii. n.)

Before we leave this subject, it may be well to mention that the prebendal churches and chapels connected with Salisbury in 1220-6 had in some instances several other books over and above those which are noted in our third and fourth columns as provided or required for all; such were:—

Textus evangeliorum (perhaps kept on the altar, and used for a pax brede, or *osculatorium*). This belonged to an older *régime* than the book of selected liturgical gospels.

An old book with a cross on its corner, upon which oaths were administered.

Canon missae (new, A.D. 1226; due doubtless to Bishop Poore's influence).

A book of private Masses.

Little book with lives of St. Ciric and St. Andrew.

Lessons and Responds for All Saints (in a church bearing that dedication).

And, in the collegiate church of Heytesbury, *Pastorale Gregorii*, *Liber sermonum*, and *Decreta pontificum*.

To several of these we shall have to refer below. We may note the absence of any mention in the foregoing *minimum* lists of some service-books commonly found in England in old times:—

(i) *Bibliotheca* (the Latin Great Bible); *Diurnale*, or Journal (for the Day-hours); *Collationum liber* (for Lenten reading); *Responsoriarium* (the correct form of the word in Bradshaw's opinion); *Sermologus*; *Tonarius*; *Versarius*; and *Virginale*.¹ (ii) *Processionale*, almost

¹ Cf. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, I. clix. n.; Rymer, *Fædera*, ix. 276. (The *Vesperale* is hardly to be considered an English book.)

absent, on which we have already remarked. (iii) *Exultet* roll (Easter Even); *Textus* (virtually an ornament); and *Sequentiale* (which is really here disguised as a "Troper"). (iv) *Benedictionale*; *Exequialis liber*; and *Pontificale*. The reasons why these books were not specified are not far to seek. The Breviary covered the *Diurnale*; the Responsorary was included in the Antiphonale, or in the Gradual (or may have been only another name for either of them); the Pontifical was not required for general use by the clergy. It is rather remarkable that, so far as the documents which we have tabulated extend, the *Tonarius*, or Tonale, though it was a book *per se*, was not required by authority, though an official, *cir.* 1400, twice noticed its absence at York Minster.

(B) THE BOOKS ACTUALLY PROVIDED.

It is time now to approach the subject from the other side, and (having shown what books were required by authority as a *minimum*) to enumerate those which were actually provided by parishioners, or presented for use of churches by benefactors, at various periods of English history.

It will be the simplest way in this case to arrange all the books under one alphabetical list, merely indicating to which of Bradshaw's sections they belong by the Roman numeral prefixed to each. The *arabic numerals* indicate how many copies were found in every instance.

§ marks some books which the church in question is known to have possessed, but in what number the record does not say.

o. A cipher is placed in cases where the *absence* of the book named was noticed by the Visitor with disapproval.

TABLE OF BOOKS PROVIDED.

CENTURIES . . .		X.	XI.	XII.	XIII.						XIV.			XV.				XVI.				
BOOKS.		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	
i	Antiphoner . . .	I	I	§	2	§	2	8	I	-	5	n	7	6	5	5	I	5	I	-	-	
iv	Benedictional . . .	-	4	3	-	-	-	2	-	4	-	2	7	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	
i	Breviary . . .	-	(3)	3	-	§	0	I	-	3	4	-	I	6	2	2	I	I	I	2	2	
i	Collectarius . . .	-	I	9	2	-	0	8	-	I	I	-	I	I	I	(I)	-	-	-	-	-	
iii	Dirge-book . . .	-	2	4	-	3	-	6	I	-	2	2	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
iii	Epistle-book . . .	2	I	2	(I)	2	-	4	-	4	2	I	I	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
iii	Gospel-book . . .	(I)	-	§	3	§	I	12	-	-	8	n	6	9	4	2	-	7	2	-	-	
i	Graill . . .	I	2	(§)	2	-	-	?	(2)	-	-	n	I	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	I	
i	Hymnal . . .	-	3	6	-	-	0	5	I	-	I	n	2	3	I	4	-	3	I	-	-	
i	Legenda (var.) . . .	-	I	9	-	-	-	11	I	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
iv	Manual . . .	-	3	6	-	-	-	11	I	-	I	n	2	3	I	4	-	3	I	-	-	
i	Martiloge . . .	-	I	3	-	-	-	5	I	-	I	n	-	-	2	2	-	4	I	-	-	
iii	Missal . . .	I	2	8	2	7	I	21	I	15	9	5	10	5	I	4	I	7	2	-	I	
(i)	Ordinal . . .	-	-	-	-	§	0	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	
i	Passional . . .	-	I	7	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
iv	Pontifical . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
(iii)	Pricksong, organ-book . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	4	-	I	3	4	4	I	I	I	
ii	Processional . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	11	n	-	14	5	3	2	4	-	-	-	
(i)	Prymer . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	3	-	4	-	-	-	
i	Psalter . . .	I	3	3	I	§	-	-	I	-	I	2	4	I	I	3	-	2	-	-	-	
(i)	Quires ¹ . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	16	-	4	-	-	-	
i	Sermones . . .	-	-	3	(I)	§	-	-	2	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
iii	Textus . . .	-	-	2	-	8	-	11	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
iii	Troper (sequences) . . .	-	I	§	I	§	I	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	I	2	-	-	-	-	-	
i	Venitäre . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
i	Versiculare . . .	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Sæc. x	1052	1155	C. 1220	1222	1224	1295	1298	1315	1384	1388	1432	1472	1488	1500	1501	1517	1553	1555	1556-7		

1 "Quaterniones": small copy-books, stitched, not bound.

n indicates that in the case of the Westminster (Vestry) list no account is taken of such books as might be remaining in the choir, etc.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES FOR THE FOREGOING TABLE

a. An A.S. list of books at Sherburn in Elmet. *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 142.

b. *Cir.* 1052. Gift of Bishop Leofric to his church at Exeter. See F. E. Warren's *Leofric Missal*, pp. xxii., xxiii. We find it simplest to bracket "ij. fulle sang bec" and "j. niht sang" (for mattins) in the "Breviary" column.

c. *Cir.* 1150. Lincoln Cathedral Treasurer's Inventory, *cir.* 1150, with additions to 1217. Dimock, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, vii. 165-71.

d. A.D. 1220 (with additions). St. Michael's Church, Mere, visited by W. de Wanda, Dean of Sarum. *Osmund Register*, i. 290-91; revised from the MS. by Chr. W.¹

e. A.D. 1222. Inventories of Salisbury (and perhaps in part of Old Sarum). *Osmund Register*, ii. 137-41.

f. A.D. 1224. Books at St. Peter's, Swallowcliff, visited by the Dean of Sarum. *Osmund Register*, i. 311; cf. 295-6.

g. A.D. 1295. Dugdale's *St. Paul's, London* (ed. 1818) pp. 324-35.

h. A.D. 1298. St. Faith in the crypt of St. Paul's. *Ibid.*, pp. 335-6.

i. A.D. 1315-21. *Inventory of Ch. Ch., Canterbury*, edd. Hope and Legg, pp. 75, 78.

j. A.D. 1384. Gifts to St. George's Collegiate Chapel Royal, Windsor. Dugdale, *Monast.*, vi. p. 1362.

k. A.D. 1388. *Inventory of Westminster Abbey Vestry*, capp. viii., ix., ed. J. W. Legg, *Archæol. Lond.*, vol. 52, pp. 233-5.

l. A.D. 1432. *Inventory of Glasgow Cathedral*, Rt. Rev. J. Dowden, D.D., 1899. *Soc. Ant. Scot.*

¹ In the MS. of *Osmund Register*, i. 291 (fo. 40b), the old *liber euan-geliorum* has been struck out, and has been inserted as a correction above (along with the Gradale Galfridi) as a text for administering oaths.

m. A.D. 1472. *Churchwardens' Accounts, St. Edmund's Parish, Salisbury*, ed. Swayne, 1896, pp. 3, 4, 371.

n. A.D. 1488. *St. Chr. le Stocks, London*. Archæol. Lond., vol. 45, p. 118.

o. A.D. 1500. *Churchwardens' Accounts, St. Dunstan's, Canterbury*, ed. Cowper, p. 26.

p. A.D. 1501. *Fordwich, Canterbury*, ed. Woodruff, p. 153.

q. A.D. 1517-20. *Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, C. Kerry, 1883, pp. 101-3, 112. (Cp. Gild of St. Mary, Boston, 1534. E. Peacock's *Church Furniture*, pp. 185, 192, 198-9, 208, 211.) The Churchwardens' Accounts of Yatton, Somerset (Somerset Record Soc., vol. iv.) show a stock of service-books very similar to that in columns o-q, but add the "Festyuall."

r. A.D. 1553. *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Edmund's Parish Church, Salisbury* (see on col. m), pp. 99, 100.

s. A.D. 1555. *Churchwardens' Accounts, St. Denys, Stanford-in-the-Vale of White Horse, Berks*. *The Antiquary*, vol. xvii. p. 119, and Chr. W.'s transcript.

t. A.D. 1556-7. *Churchwardens' Inventory at St. Peter's and St. Paul's, Marlborough, Wilts*. "A masse booke, a procession booke, an hympner, ij poyses (leaden weights) for the organes, Item ij portesses, new bought," etc. *MS. in Chr. W.'s custody*.

This list of authorities might be very greatly amplified from published and unpublished inventories and records. We shall have occasion elsewhere to mention the Visitations of the Churches of their "peculiars," or prebends, by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter through their Commissary, in 1331, *Grandisson Register*, ii. 605-11 (ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 1897), and by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, London, 1249-52 (Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson, Camden Soc. 1895). In Exeter diocese "*libri matutinales*" are commonly mentioned, and the presence or absence of an "*Ordinale*" is noticed. In the St. Paul's record we find "*liber manualis cum exorcismis plenariis*" at Willesden, in 1249, and "*cum quibusdam exorcismis*" at Aldbery, in 1252, and the absence of such a book at Pelham Furneaux noted in the latter year. At Kirkby, St. Michael's, in 1251, there was an "*Omeliarium bonum*." (W.)

CHAPTER II

ON MEDIEVAL SERVICE-BOOKS

The Titles of Service-books

UNTIL the introduction of printing, service-books had no titles, nor indeed had some of the earliest printed books, *e.g.* the early pye printed by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. We are enabled to ascertain the names proper to the several MSS. either from inventories or from the names which are incidentally bestowed upon them in the general rubrics, or else we can transfer to them the titles which books of the same character and contents came to bear when put into print.

Some of the early printers disposed of the titles of their works in a line and a half of modest type, placed high up upon the first page. As the art was developed they loaded their title-pages with many lines of varied type and ornamentation.

The Writing.—The appearance of a page of a medieval service-book is shown by the various facsimiles which we put before our readers. So, too, the arrangement of the musical notation may be seen, and, in more than one instance, an example of the English of the time.

It will be noticed that the text of a MS. of the Middle Ages is in no way inferior in point of execution and

general appearance to that of the best printed copies, and as regards the quality and abundance of the ornamentation the MS. is in every way the finer.

The Ornamentation of a Service-book.—The degree of ornament with which a service-book is decorated varies very greatly. Of all books of this character none can in any way compete with that of the class of books known as Prymers. The Prymer being the Prayer-book of an individual, and therefore scarcely to be classed strictly as a service-book, might be decorated according to the wish of the owner. In many cases these books contain a wealth of miniatures and ornament in the most elaborate form.

The English service-books, though often of exceeding beauty, were usually inferior in point of ornament to the volumes produced on the Continent.

The Missal, which from its high liturgical importance we should at first sight expect to find highly ornamented, is not generally very lavishly decorated, possibly by reason of its great bulk of text, which would be very costly in itself. At the opening of the Canon, however, the preceding page is often occupied by a representation of the crucifixion. The text of the Missal is almost invariably very beautifully written.

As regards the larger printed Sarum Missals, printed *e.g.* in 1494 and 1504 (J. de Prè), the Canon is in a specially large and handsome type. In some examples the pictures and other parts of the Canon are printed on vellum, *e.g.* the copies in the British Museum printed by Hopyl, 1504; Rembolt, 1513; Olivier, 1519; Petit, 1521; Regnault, 1527 and 1529.

Some Missals are printed on vellum throughout. Many printed service-books, both those on paper and those on vellum, are profusely illustrated with woodcuts.

The Leaves of Service-books.—The leaves of manuscript service-books are in almost all cases of vellum, those of printed volumes generally of paper. John Thomson, in 1510, bequeathed

“a masse booke of parchemyn lymned and a masse booke of paper in prynte.”

(Somerset House Wills, Bennett, xxxvi. 5b.)

Medieval Binding.—It is easy to understand the appearance and binding of an old English service-book, for many in their original binding remain to-day.

A coloured facsimile in this volume gives an idea of the external appearance of a new medieval service-book. In the picture the newly finished volume, a Gospel-book, is depicted as being handed to the personage by whom it was ordered to be made.

The fragment of a Gospel-book, Brit. Mus. MS., 22,573, is an excellent example of the common medieval binding. The sides of the book are formed of wood covered with leather, which is exceedingly dark with age. The ornament stamped upon the leather consists of three long panels filled with varied figures, the whole being enclosed in a square of similar ornamentation. A big brass stud at each corner protects the cover from friction. In the account for binding the fine Litlington Mass-book (still at Westminster) in 1384 these brass studs are called “*noduli*” (see Addendum to Dr. Legg’s edition for the H. Bradshaw Society).

The Mass-book, Brit. Mus. MS., Eg. 2,677, represents another type of medieval binding. This MS. is bound in smooth red leather on boards, with two curious and beautiful brass clasps.

A third, and far plainer, example is that of a Mass-book—Brit. Mus. MS., Eg. 2,139. This is in a plain skin binding, at one time probably white; now it has the appearance of smooth, dirty white leather.

The cost of binding must have varied greatly, according to the richness of the material employed and the work expended upon it.

At times books were bound with the leather covering of the sides made to project far beyond the edges of the volume, thus forming an ample protection for the book. Such is the case with the fine Psalter formerly at Norwich Cathedral, now MS. Douce 366 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Epistle-books and Gospel-books were sometimes ornamented with a silver plate inserted in the front oaken board. MSS. 2B xii. and xiii. at the British Museum were apparently at one time so adorned.

The Epistle-book and Gospel-book of St. Laurence's Church, Reading, are described in the Inventory of 1517 as follows:—

“It. ij^o bokes, a gossellour (lxix unces) & a pistellour (lxxv unces) the one side covered with Silver parcell gilt with Images uppon the same & the other side with bokes of silver, weying yn all cxxxiiij unces, of the gift of M^r Richard Smyth, yeman of the robes with our soverayne lord the kyng.”

(Kerry's *St. Laurence's Church, Reading*, p. 100.)

Bishop Hobhouse's exceedingly valuable collection of medieval churchwardens' accounts, to which we have repeatedly had recourse, and which forms the fourth volume of the series issued by the Somersetshire Record Society, furnishes details of medieval binding.

In the records of the following expenditures it must be remembered that the difference in the value of money at the present time and the value of such for many years before the Reformation has been estimated to be something like fifteen times a higher value for the earlier period.

The binding of a Mass-book for Yatton Church in 1501 cost 16*d.*:—

“payd for helying [covering] of ye masboke xvj^d.”
(Som. Rec. Soc. 4. 124.)

The following item refers to clasps for books, probably for service-books:—

“pro claspsys dictorum librorum . . . vj^d.”
(Som. Rec. Soc. 4. 187.)

The binding of two Breviaries in 1463 cost 3*s.* 4*d.*:—

“for byndyng of ii portoce bokys . . . iijs iiij^d.”
(Som. Rec. Soc. 4. 100.)

And the binding of a Psalter in 1480 cost 16*d.*:—

“for the byndyng of the sawter . . . xvj^d.”
(Som. Rec. Soc. 4. 112.)

At page 124 of the same we find it recorded that the bookbinder would also make surplices and even vestments.

The following notes have been taken from Mr. Kerry's *History of the Church of St. Laurence, Reading*:—

- “1502. For byndyng and new coveryng of the grete antyphoner, and for making of and puttyng in of the Feste of the visytacion [and] transfiguracion of Jhesu [amount not stated by Mr. Kerry, p. 32].
- “1508. To John Cokks for mending of the gret preksong boke of Jhesu Masse, xx^d.
- “1531-2. Payd for iij buk skynes ij^s Stag skynes & viij shepe skynes 18^s 6^d. For xxi rede skynes 7^s. For glew 12^d. For small threde & pak threde 2^s 2^d. For a dosyn of parchment skynes 2^s 2^d. For xv vellam skynes 10^s. To the Joynner for bordes to the bokes 20^d. To the boke bynder for byndyng of the bokes 24^s.

The Cost of Service-books.—The following notes of the respective cost of several service-books have been taken from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the parish of St. Michael, Bath, edited by Mr. C. B. Pearson, and printed for the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, in their *Proceedings* for 1878. Here we find that—

A Missal in 1349 cost £2 6s. 2d. A Breviary in 1371 cost £1 3s. 4d. A Processional in 1426 cost 5s. 11d. A Manual in 1439 cost 16s. 8d., one shilling and sixpence more being spent “on two men going on horseback to fetch the said book.”

The fourth volume of the Somersetshire Record Society tells also something of the prices of service-books:—

The churchwardens of Yatton in 1495

“payd for a manuall . . . 1 3 4”

and in 1497

“for a proschensnall . . . 9 4”

In the accounts of the churchwardens of Crocombe, under the year 1482, occurs the unusual record of the sale of a Psalter :—

“Alles Abbot hath bought an old Sauter for ii^s. Whereof she hath paid xx^d. Rest iiij^d that she oweth.”

(Som. Rec. Soc. 4. 11.)

Where Service-books came from.—The service-books of a parish church were probably generally procured by purchase at the expense of the funds of the parish church, and the costs of such are accordingly to be found recorded in the Churchwardens' Accounts, as we have seen. Many service-books were, however, bequeathed to parish churches. The following is an instance of the bequest of two Antiphoners to the church of Wiborton by the Rector, John Rider, in 1443 :—

“Lego ecclesiæ de Wiborton, duo Antiphonaria notata.”

(*Test. Ebor.*, ii. 88.)

The service-books of the private chapels of the wealthy were often left by will to the parish church. For instance, in a will dating 1503 we read :—

“I woll that my masse boke covered with rede velwett that is occupied in the chapell be given to a poore church.

(Somerset H. Wills, Holgrave vii. (4b).)

And many service-books were also presented to the church, as in the case of an Antiphoner mentioned in the inventory of the books in the church of St. Christopher le Stocks, in the city of London, in 1488 :—

“A grete Antifoner of Master Sedney's gyft.”

(*Archæologia*, xlv. 118.)

To this last may be added the record of a very early and generous gift at Knook, in 1226, when the Vicar gave to the church: A new Grail in sheets, with Troper; a Collectar and Capitulare; Antiphoner, new, in sheets; Breviary (imperfect), and a new Canon of the Mass.

Money, too, was at times left by will for the repair of the church books. In 1495 an "iremonger of London" left 6s. 8d.

"for the Reparacion and amending of the bookes and vestimentes." (Somerset H. Wills, Vox 25 (8a).)

Sometimes a service-book is bequeathed to a certain church conditionally that the donor shall be buried and prayed for in the church according to certain specified directions. (Somerset H. Wills, Adeane 11. 8b.) In the will of a "gentleman" of London a considerable number of Mass-books are bequeathed to poor churches. The Pynson alluded to was probably the famous printer:—

"I will that certeyn masse bookes shal be taken of Pynson that is to wite vii for the duetie that ys betwixt hym and me and that myn executours clerely to discharge hym of all maner thinges and then to be geven to poore churches." (Somerset H. Wills, Holgrave xxviii. 7a.)

By whom Service-books were Written.—That there were professional scribes by whom books were written we may gather from the following extract, recording that in 1483 the churchwardens paid a large sum to "the scryvener at ij tymys for wrytyng of the new boke." (Som. Rec. Soc. 4. 114.)

Probably many chantry priests would add to their incomes by the transcribing of service-books. An

instance of a priest receiving 12*d.* "for a pistille boke" occurs in the Churchwardens' Accounts of the parish of Ludlow in 1543 (Camden Soc.). The Epistle-book might, from its small size, very well have cost so comparatively small a sum.

In 1464 a friar of the name of Hugdson was paid 40*s.* by the churchwardens of a London parish for an Ordinal (Waterlow's *Accounts of St. Michael's, Cornhill*); and at St. Edmund's, Salisbury, a chaplain was employed in 1479-80 for engrossing the new services of St. Osmund and the Feast of the Visitation.

A most interesting deed of agreement with a scribe for writing and illustrating a Psalter, etc., is preserved in the York Chapter Acts of 1346 (August 26th). "Rob. Brekeling scriptor" appears before the Cathedral Chapter, and undertakes on oath to keep his engagement to J. Forbor to write a Psalter with a calendar "ad opus dicti domini Johannis" for 5*s.* 6*d.*, and in the same Psalter in the same style (*de eadem litera*) a *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with Hymnary and Collectar for 4*s.* 3*d.* "He will illuminate all the psalms with the large letters of gold set in colours, and limn all the large letters (*grossas litteras*) of the Hymnary and Collectar with gold and vermilion, except those of the double feasts, which shall be like the large letters in the Psalter. And all letters at beginning of verses shall be illuminated with good azure and vermilion, and those at the opening of each nocturn shall be great five-line uncials. But *Beatus vir* and *Dixit Dominus* (at the opening of Matins and Evensong) shall be six- or seven-line letters. For the limning he shall pay 5*s.* 6*d.*, and, for colours, 18*d.* for gold." (See York Fabric Rolls, pp. 165, 166.)

To what extent the *scriptoria* of the monasteries supplied service-books beyond those required for their own fraternities is, perhaps, not known.

Medieval Manner of Identifying Parish Church Service-books.—In medieval inventories service-books are frequently identified as beginning on such a leaf with certain words. For instance :—

“v mas bokes, of the whiche one begynneth in the secunde leeff—*Et in ramys palmarum.*” (Inventory of St. Christopher’s, London. *Archæologia*, xlv. 118.)

And again at St. Swithin’s, Winchester :—

“una Legenda integra, quæ incipit folio 2º ‘*Quia dixerunt.*’”
(Obedientiary Rolls, Hants Rec. Soc., p. 85.)

The first words of the second leaf are commonly given because those of the first leaf would be the same in many copies.

Medieval References to Service-books and Services.—In the fine series of wills published by the Surtees Society, under the title of *Testamenta Eboracensia*, we meet with an interesting reference to the route of the procession in York Cathedral. The testator desires to be buried “*infra locum processionis.*” (*Test. Ebor.*, i. 74.)

The Mass is referred to in the following curious desire expressed in a will. The testator wishes to be buried

“byfor our Lady awter in ye Lady qwere, so yt ye prest, when he doth Masse ther, may stand upon ye end of thrugh.” (*Test. Ebor.*, iv. 256.)

The last word means the stone immediately above the remains of the deceased.

- a bōk of the miraculis of oure lady Seid so beate cheyned
- a bōk of Catholicon Seid folio be of bnae wores cheyned
- a bōk of glosed Sanctes pmo fo fmoente incognitō fo mo pmoente tam cheyned
- a bōk of alle ceperum veritatis theologie Seid fo impactiq. dphib. ^{multum pmoente}
- a bōk Seid fo qm addit stentia addit dolorum cheyned
- a bōk Seid folio incipient illud de tmo cheyned
- a bōk Seid folio sententulata q. magnifico cheyned

- a bōk of portus Seid fo dene a quo cheyned
- a bōk of sancte bernard p. fo fmoente q. Seid Seid m. rator cheyned
- a bōk of the p. of conscience Seid fo vltim cheyned
- a bōk Seid aial folio cheyned
- a bōk de remedijs consop Seid ¹⁷¹⁵ qm p. Seid cheyned
- a bōk
- a bōk of pmo Seid pmo p. fmoente salua Seid folio incipientia tor
- a bōk noted of dms p. Seid Seid fo te laudet
- a bōk an olde mortelame pmo fo magnifico Seid fo incipientia miras
- a bōk of pythelomy bōk Seid fo fmoente factus
- a bōk noted in p. pmo Seid fo incipientia loms
- a bōk call a pre pmo fo Seid Seid in tmo of the dphib. of p. Henry made p. p. Seid Seid in the q. Seid
- a bōk of the constitution probincall pmo fo Quia Seid folio Seid of the dphib. of p. Henry made p. p. Seid Seid in the q. Seid

MEDIEVAL INVENTORY OF A LONDON CITY CHURCH.

Leaf 13b of the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Church of St. Margaret,
New Fish Street, London, in 1472.

The following extract is by no means unique ; it affords a curious and interesting illustration of a scene which must have formerly often taken place in our old churches :—

“an honest prest to synge at the alter of our said Lady daily by the space of vii yeres xxxvli. and I will that what prest that shall serve it every day whan that he hath saide masse that he shall stand affore my grave in his albe and ther to say the psalme of *De Profundis* with the Colettes, and then caste holy water upon my grave.”
(*Test. Ebor.*, iv. 121.)

The frequent, and very often ample, directions for services desired which are to be met with in medieval wills indicate a considerable knowledge of the various services.

In the next extract a particular part of the service is alluded to, the testator desiring to be buried

“before the medys of the alter of Seynt John the Baptist where the prest usith to saye *Confiteor*.”
(*Test. Ebor.*, iii. 223.)

In the indenture attached to the will of a layman, Sir Thomas Chaworth, 1458, the following passage occurs :—

“a litel portose, the which the saide Sir Thomas toke with hym alway when he rode.” (*Test. Ebor.*, ii. 227.)

It is somewhat singular that the Breviary and not the Prymer should have been so carried about by a layman ; but after the Prymer and Psalter the Breviary was the volume most frequently possessed by the people.

In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* reference is more than once made to the Breviary under its common old English name of “porthors” :—

“For on my porthors here I make an ooth.”
(*Shipman's Tale*, li. 131 ; and again, line 135.)

The Value of the old Service-books at the Time of the Reformation.—As may be imagined, and as recorded by the contemporary historian, the old service-books at the time of the Reformation were of little pecuniary value.

In 1550 the churchwardens of Ludlow recorded in their accounts for that year :—

“Item received for the old bookes in the
churche of the old service ijs viij^d.”

(Churchwardens' Accounts of Ludlow, Camden Soc., p. 45.)

The returns made to the Royal Commissioners and others in 1549, 1559, and 1566 commonly take very little account of the Latin service-books.

In Mr. Peacock's *Church Furniture*, from the returns made in 1566 for more than 150 parishes the books are described as “the mass bookes, the processioners, the manuell and all such peltrie” (Aslacbie) “certaine latin bokes whose names wee knowe not” (St. John's, Stamford).

Parts of Services in English.—Bishop Kingdon, in an interesting article on “An Early Vernacular Service,”¹ describes the little service which is written in the magnificent Breviary in the library of Salisbury Cathedral.² The article is of so great an interest that no apology need be made for transferring some portion of it to these pages.

“But a little less than a hundred years before this [1544] there was written on a spare leaf of a Sarum Breviary a short service in the vernacular, set to musical notation, and therefore manifestly intended for public use. It is an *Aspersio*, or sprinkling of holy water, a service said in procession in the nave. It is no vulgar or rapid scribble, but a beautiful piece of manuscript, carefully and elaborately written by an accomplished scribe. . . .

¹ *Wilts Archæological and Natural Hist. Magazine*, vol. 18 (1879).

² MS. Salisb. 152. Some leaves from this Breviary have been edited in facsimile for the *Plainsong Soc.* in Frere's *Antiphonale*, 1901-2.

"This *Aspersio*, like others, has an antiphon, and the first verse of the *Miserere* psalm with the *Gloria*. But there is this notable difference that, whereas the antiphon otherwise was a text of Scripture with reference to the sprinkling, in the present instance it is in the form of an address to the worshippers, drawing their attention to the meaning and teaching of the service. . . .

"The service is as follows : first the antiphon runs thus :—

" 'Remember youre promys made yn baptym,
And chrystys mercyfull bloudshedyng,
By the wyche most holy sprynklyng
Off all youre syns youe have fre perdon.' . . .

"Then follows the verse of *Miserere* psalm [Ps. li.] :—

" 'Have mercy uppon me oo god
After thy grat mercy,
Remember, etc. [*i.e.* antiphon repeated],
And acordyng to the multitude of the^r mercys
Do away my wyckydnes,
Remember, etcet.
Glory be to the father and to the sun and to the holy goost;
As hyt was yn the begynnyng so now and ever and yn the world
off worlds so be hytt.
By the wyche' [*i.e.* last half of antiphon]. . . ."

Bishop Kingdon proves the book to date about 1440, the writing of the *Aspersio* service to date about 1470, the church to which the book originally belonged to have been that of Arlingham, in Gloucestershire, and that Latimer became acquainted with the verses when he was at West Kington or after he became bishop.

This is not less interesting for the fact that an almost exactly similar entry of the same service is to be seen on lf. 141 of the magnificent Breviary, MS. 32,427 in the British Museum. The dates of the book and of the insertion coincide almost exactly with the same two periods of the Salisbury volume. So, too, the fine workmanship of the handwriting and the size of the

volume. The word "Glowcet", too, is written at the foot of lf. 119 of the Museum MS.

The Manual contained always a portion of its text in English.

In the service for baptism in the fifteenth-century Manual, Brit. Mus. MS., 30,506, on lf. 23 the familiar words

"I cristene þe in þe name," etc.,

are written in both English and Latin.

Again, later on, the priest:—

"*dicens in lingua materna*—Godfaderis and godmoderis I charge yow and þe fader and þe moder, that þis child be kept þis seven þer fro water, fro feer [fire], fro horsfot, fro hondes toth, and þat he ligge not be þe fader an be þe moder unto tyme he conne sey 'ligge outter,' and þat he be confermyd of a byschop that next cometh to contre be seven myle be halve, and þat [he] be tauþt his beleve, þat is for to sey *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*. And þat 3e wasche þour hondes er 3e goon owt of chirche in peyne of fastyng xl fridayes."

Again, in the Marriage Service, at lf. 25 of the same book:—

"I aske þe banes betwen I. de B. and A. de C. 3if any man or woman kan sey or put any lettenge of sybrede [kinship] wher for they may not, ne owght not to come to gedere be lawe of holy chirche do us to wete" [know].

Later on occur two admonitions in English, the first commencing:—

"Lo syres, we been her gadered to gedere befor god and alle his aungelis," etc.

The second commences:—

"Also I charge þow bothe," etc.

Then come the two familiar questions to the man and woman, of which, from their similarity, one only need here be given :—

“N. Wiltow have þis woman to þin wyf, and love here and worschipe here and holde hire and kepe here in seknes and in hele as an hosbonde owyth to his wif und alle oþer women to forsaken for hire and only to drawe to hire as longe as þowre bothe lyves togedere lasten?

“*Respondeat vir. Volo.*”

A little later occur the well-known declarations, which, again being similar, only the first need appear here :—

“I, N. take the N. to myn wedded wyf, to have and to holde from þis day forward, for beter for wers, for richere for porere, for fayrere for fowlere, in seknes and in helth, til deth us departe ȝif holy chirche it wil ordeyne and therto I plithe þe myn trewthe . *manum retrahendo. Deinde dicat mulier docente sacerdote*:—I, N. take the N. to myn weddid housbonde,” etc.

And later :—

“With þis ryng I þe wedde and þis gold and silver I þe ȝeve and with al myn bodi I þe worschepe and with al myn wordlich [worldly] catel I þe honowre.”

And again in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, where on lf. 50 we find a series of questions to be put by the priest :—

“Belevyst þow in god fader almythi, makere of hevene and of erthe? *Et respondeat infirmus in quolibet articulo*—I beleve. Belevyst þou in his sone?”

And so on, though “*Credo*” is substituted for “I beleve” after the first response.

At the conclusion of these questions and answers the

sick person is to make an acknowledgment of sins, commencing :—

“I knowliche to god and to owre lady seynte marie, and to alle þe halwene [saints] of hevene, that I have senned, with mowth spoken, with feet goon, with eyen seyen, with eren hered, with nose smelled,” etc., etc.

Then follows the Absolution in Latin, and then the final adjuration in English :—

“*Item dicat sacerdos hoc modo in lingua materna :—*

“Now brodir, or sister, ȝif þow beholde any cros or ony ymage mad with mannes hond, wite [know] wel þat it is not god : therfore think or seye in þin herte—I wot wel that þow art not myn god, but maked after hym to make me have more mynde on myn god, therfore, lord fader þat art in hevene, merci i aske of alle þe sennes that i have trespassed aȝens the wilful passioun of owre lord ihesu crist, the whiche he suffred for al mankende : merciful fader, of thi goodnesse and thi grete mercy, do away al myn wikkednesse.”

In the Manual, Brit. Mus. MS., Stowe 13, the text of the English is not quite the same in the Visitation Office, as the following extracts will show :—

“Bilevest thou that thou may not be savyd but by his deth ?

“*Respondeat.* Ye, sir.”

Towards the conclusion the priest addresses the sick person as follows :—

“ . . . think in none other wordli [worldly] good but in cristes passion, & sei after me :—

“I put cristis passion bitwene me and mine evele dedis and bitwene me and his wrath.”

The Prymer being the medieval lay folks' Prayer-book, and often wholly in English, naturally contains much matter which is easily recognisable, as, for instance, the

Litany. It will therefore not be uninteresting to give some few lines of this truly beautiful composition as it appears in the medieval Prayer-book. The extracts have been copied from the fifteenth-century Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., 17,011 :—

“ Be þin holi passioun & most peteuous deēþ ;
 lord delyvere us.
 Be þi blessid byrynge ;
 lord delyvere us.

“ In hour of our deēþ ; helpe us lord.
 In þe day of doome ; delyvere us lord.
 We synners praie þe to heere us.
 þat þou ȝyve to us pees & verey concord ;
 we praien þee to heer us.

“ Sone of god, we praie þee to heere us.
 Lomb of god þat doost awei þe syn-
 nes of þe world ;
 wel heere us lord.”

The Great Sentence, too, was in English. This will be found somewhat fully dealt with in another section.

Service-books adorned with Heraldic Devices.—Sometimes service-books are decorated with heraldic devices. Occasionally these were evidently inserted in order to perpetuate so far as possible the memory of the donor of the volume. In 1505 a testator wills :—

“ that my said wife bye a grete antiphoner . . . in the
 which to be Illymned in divers places myn armes.”
 (Somerset H. Wills, Adeane xxv. 5b.)

The book was then to be “given freely” to a certain church.

The Connexion between the old Service-books and the Book of Common Prayer.—The Book of Common Prayer is not only remarkable for the grace and beauty of its language, but also for the fact that it represents in a by no means obscure form a certain number of the ancient service-books of the pre-Reformation English Church. Almost every section of the Book of Common Prayer represents more or less clearly one of the ancient service-books, though some of the old books, as for instance the Benedictional, in no way appear. An examination of the Prayer-book on these lines will show us that the Calendar of the ancient books is represented by the Calendar we use to-day in the Prayer-book; the Breviary is slightly outlined by the Morning and Evening Prayer; the Collect-book is represented by the Collects; the Epistle- and Gospel-books by the Epistles and Gospels; the Missal by the Communion Office; the Manual by the occasional offices—Baptism, Matrimony, etc.; the Psalter by the Psalms; and the Pontifical by the few episcopal offices near the end of the Prayer-book.

The old service-books having been the main source of the contents of the Book of Common Prayer, the fact of the identity of much of the contents of the Prayer-book with those similar prayers, etc., in the old books is to be expected. The sole difference of much of the matter is the distinction of language. With this reservation almost the whole of the Prayer-book is to be found in the old service-books.

The Latin headings of the Psalms and Canticles preserve a measure of the ancient forms. The order, too, of the ecclesiastical year, as seen in the Collects, etc., of the Prayer-book, is the same in both the Prayer-book

and old service-books, as also the red colour of the Rubrics.

The Plan of the Medieval Service-book.—The order of the services in the medieval book is in no way difficult to understand, for they follow more or less closely the common seasons of the ecclesiastical year as displayed in the arrangement of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels in the Book of Common Prayer. Bearing this fact in mind, it is not difficult to find the place of most services in the old books. In the printed books the heading at the top of the page indicates the service the page contains, and the sequence of these page headings is, in a considerable measure, the same (excepting the difference of language) as the Prayer-book.

A Breviary of a Parish Church in Pawn.—In 1498 a Breviary of the parish of Munden, in Norfolk, was in pawn. The record of this fact, which was probably not a solitary instance, comes down to us in the will of a private gentleman. The reference reads:—

“I will and requyre that the portues that was lade to pleg to ffranceis of Norwiche be restored to the parishe church of Munden.”

(Somerset H. Wills, Horne, lf. xxvi., 3a.)

Books suspended from the person.—We have never seen an English example of a book with straps for suspending the same from the girdle. The following extract from a late fifteenth-century will points, however, to the custom having obtained in this country:—

“I will that my doughter lady ffitzhugh have a boke of gold, enameled, that was my wiffes, whiche she was wounte to were.” (S. H. Wills, Vox, lf. 30, 8b.)

Notes and Scribblings in Service-books.—Many service-books contain notes in various handwritings. These, in the case of most Prymers, and some Psalters, were undoubtedly inserted by the owners—the Prymer and Psalter being the only two books which may claim to have been commonly owned by lay people, Prymers being, indeed, almost restricted to their use.

Such notes may take the form of simply a name with or without a date or mention of place, or be a record of the birth, wedding, or death of a member of the owner's family. To-day the family Bible contains such records, but in the Middle Ages, though the possession of Bibles in English was not by any means unknown amongst lay people, the ordinary place for the entry of such records was the flyleaf or calendar of the Prymer or Psalter. Such records were probably never, or very rarely, made in books of a secular character. It is not without pathos to find that owners should record such entries in a book which was probably regarded as being on a different and more permanent footing than any other volume, a permanency indeed the temporary nature of which is so pathetically evidenced by the later entries of subsequent owners.

The fourteenth-century Psalter, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 1,688, contains many entries in the calendar relating to births and deaths of members of the family to whom the book belonged. On the page for March we read :—

“The birth of Baudewyn son of T. Derham, & Jane his wif,
the yer of our lorde God 1 mill cccc lxxij, & y^e xiiij yer of
y^e Reign of king Edward iiij^b : dominical lettre C.”

In February, 1470 :—

“Thomas, the son of Thomas of Crimplesham, the son of
Thomas of Derham, & Jane his wif, wer weddid.”



A LECTERN IN USE

FROM THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY EPISTLE-BOOK AT TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

MS. 77, leaf 1

I have my sonne now borne the sonne of
 humyng the son of my lorde 1 + 8 p on
 a tuesday at night the tithen vny and
 w and make our sonne and
 for my sonne sent to the 16 day

ffraunce my sonne was borne the xxv day
 of Juny the son of our lorde is 12 and a
 ffraunce at night the tithen vny and
 w and make our sonne and
 for my sonne sent to the 16 day

FAMILY RECORDS

FROM THE FLY-LEAF OF A FIFTEENTH CENTURY PRYMER, ENTERED IN 1488 AND 1492

Brit. Mus. MS. Slo. 2,633

Under August, 1473, the death of Thomas Derham is recorded, "*et sepultus est in ecclesia de Crymplesham*" (St. Mary's, Crimplesham, Norfolk).

On lf. 4 of this book we find inserted some curious notes as to the time of sunrise. A little lower, on the same page, is an entry relating to farming matters:—

" . . . cccc schipe, & lxxvi lambys, and xl newt & kyne,
& viij horssis . . . & for my rydyng to London xv^s . . ."

A third and last entry refers to

"The birthe of Thomasyn derham, dowghter of Thomas derham y^e yong[er] son of Thomas derham ye elder, in y^e xx yere of y^e reign of Kyng h y^e VIIIth, & in ye yere of our lord god mccccxxix, in ye xvii day of may, on ye sunday in ye mornyng, betwene v of ye cloke and vi of ye cloke ; litera dominicalis *d*."

Sometimes the birth is noted and mention made of the locality in which it occurred, as in the Prymer (MS. Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,887), where the birth of Annas Gower is entered as having taken place on the 25th of August, 1467, at four o'clock, in the parish of St. Michael's, "in Croked layn in Tourstret."

The following extract is written with some care on the flyleaf of the Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., Slo., 2,633. It is still to-day the record of a good man's hopes.

"Thomas my sone was borne the xiiij day of Januarii, the yere of oure lorde 1488, on a Tewesday at nyght, betwene viij and ix : god make hym a good man : that day callide sent hillary ys day."

The following, from the flyleaf of the Prymer, MS. Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,966, is interesting:—

"yf anybody fynd thys boke, I pray theym bryng yt to Mysterys Trigges, for yt hys hers."

On the page of the calendar for March of the Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., 2. A. 17, we find the following note as to the calculation of Easter :—

“ In Marche after the fyrst C [C]
Tacke the prime wherever he be,
The thyerde sondaye without mys
Estur daye yt is.
Yf the prime on the sondaye be,
Tacke hym for on of the three.”

At times the notes take the form of a malediction upon anyone taking away the book from its rightful abiding-place. An instance of such occurs in the Manual, MS. Brit. Mus., 30,506 (lf. 169), where, amongst several entries of names, etc., we find also written :—

“*Iste liber pertinet ad sanctum aldatum.*
Thys boke ys one, & chryst curse ys anoþer ;
he yt take þe one, take þe oþer. Amen.”

The above rhyme is also found on the flyleaf of the Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 1251.

On lf. 170 of the Manual just mentioned is also scribbled :—

“Thys boke ys sancht audatys ; he yt stelys þis boke shall
be haulynht by ye neck.”

On the last leaf of the Psalter, MS. Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,888, is scribbled :—

“I am not unkynd to love as I ffynd.”

The Psalter, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 7,398a, has written on lf. 124 :—

“For to heale the gall of an horse, & not alter ye heare,
take ye grenest of Eldren leaves & stampe——”

For some reason the rest was never written.

Madame / pray you be
membre me / your longynge
marster /

W. R. H.

madame / from you praye
me to be good to god
that I may be your
your prayers

Elizabeth of York

et moy se volpne q' m'atitudo
tonjens en sa l'ame a true
est m.



ROYAL AUTOGRAPHS OF KING HENRY VII, QUEEN ELIZABETH
OF YORK, AND MARGARET OF SCOTLAND

FROM FLY-LEAF OF A FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOK OF HOURS

Brit. Mus. MS. 17,042, leaf 21

On the flyleaf of the Psalter, Brit. Mus. MS., 2. B. 6, is written in a fine hand :—

“Hunc librum dedit Frater Johannes de Dalling, ex licentia domini Johannis abbatis, deo & ecclesie sancti albani, ita tamen quod habeat usum tantum in vita sua. . . .”

A little lower is written :—

“Anima Johannis de Dalling et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum requiescant in pace. Amen.”

The Psalter, Brit. Mus. MS., Ar., 155, has written on the flyleaf :—

“Si quis invenerit hunc librum, restituat dompno Willielmo yngram.”

And on lf. 1 of the same MS. is written, in a fine, bold hand :—

“Psalterium. Dompni. Johannis. Waltham. Monachi. Ecclesie. Christi. Cantuariensis. Ex dono. Dompni. W. Hadley. Supprioris.”

The Psalter, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 100, has written at the foot of the calendar for December :—

“Remember the sowll of Bettres Torbrow.”

The Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., Eg., 1,151, has the two following curious verses scribbled on lf. 159. The first rhyme is also found in Eleanour Worcester's Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl, 1,251, lf. 184.

“Ihesus marya.

*Mysterys felys owyth thys boke :
and she yt lose, and you yt fynde,
I pray you to take the payne
to bryng my boke home agayne.*

Ihesus maria.”

*“Iste liber attinet, deny it if you can,
Ad me, Robbertum Colston, a very honest man.”*

Sometimes the notes refer to simple and homely remedies for various ailments, as in the Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 1,260, lf. 235 :—

“ ffor the collyk :—Tak a Rote,” etc.

Remedies, some of them very odd ones, are also scribbled in the Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., 2. A. 18.

In the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, is a MS. Sarum Breviary, which belonged to the chapel of that society at an early period in its history. It has the quaint lines :—

“ Wher so ever y be come over all
I belonge to the chappell of gonvyll hall ;
He schal be cursid by the grate sentens
That felonously faryth and bereth me thenis.
And whether he bere me in pooke or in sekke
For me he shall be hanged by the nekke
(I am so well beknowen of dyverse men),
But I be restored theder agen.”

(*Gonv. Cai. MS.*, 394).

The Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., 17,012, contains, written on lf. 180 :—

“ Madam wan you ar dysposyd to pray
remember your assured sarvant alw[ay]

“ T. roos ” ;

and lower, on the same page :—

“ Madame when ye most devoutyst be
have yn remembrance f and p.”

This book is exceptionally interesting historically, for it appears to have belonged to someone who must have been on especially familiar terms with the royal personages of the time. Apparently the owner on more



xxv	f	Septemb	San Egidij
v	g	mi	
xxiv	e	iiii	
xxiii	b	iii	Sancti nacio & Cuthberti epi
xxii	c	ii	Sancti bertini abb.
xxi	d	vi	
xx	e	v	
xix	f	iiii	Sancti marie.
xviii	g	iii	Sancti Gorgonii mris.
xvii	a	ii	
xvi	b	i	Sanctorum prothi & iacobi
xv	c	vi	
xiv	d	v	
xiii	e	iiii	October. Sancti marie
xii	f	iii	
xi	g	ii	Sancti edithe virginis
x	a	i	Sancti lamberti episcopi
ix	b	vi	
viii	c	v	
vii	d	iiii	Sancti mathei apli
vi	e	iii	Sancti maurici
v	f	ii	Sancti sede vng
iiii	g	i	
iii	a	vi	Sancti firmiani epi & mris
ii	b	v	Sancti cipriani epi
i	c	iiii	Sancti coline & daniani
xxviii	d	iii	
xxvii	e	ii	
xxvi	f	i	Sancti michael archangeli
xxv	g	vi	Sancti jerommi presbri.

here endeth the
canicular dayes

Aug. This day in the morning
after one of the clock after
midnight was born
king Edward at Warke fl.
the 2nd 1286.

This day at Almesbury
my lady pryncesse toke her
ship toward England in
the yere of o lord 1461.

CALENDAR (MONTH OF SEPTEMBER)
FROM A PAGE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY PRYMER
Brit. Mus. MS. 2. 1. 27. 11. fol. 92

than one occasion obtained the unusual favour of securing autograph inscriptions from royalty. The following is the Museum account of some of these inscriptions:—

“The volume . . . contains autograph inscriptions by Henry VII. (‘Madame I pray you Remembre me, your lovyng maistre, Henry R.’) and Elizabeth his Queen (‘Madam I pray you forget not me to pray to God that I may have part of your prayers, Elysabeth ye quene.’) Henry VIII. (‘Henry R.’), and Queen Katherine of Aragon (‘I thinke the prayrs of a frend be most acceptable unto God, and because I take you for one of myn assured I pray you to remembre me in yours, Katherina the quene,’ the last two words having been subsequently obliterated). On f. 192b is a prayer translated from Latin by Princess [afterwards Queen] Mary in her eleventh year; and below, an autograph inscription by the Princess.” (Museum label.) (See Plate.)

In a will of the date of 1503 at Somerset House is the following bequest; it is not impossible that it may refer to the above-mentioned volume, but a somewhat similar book is in the possession of A. H. Frere, Esq.:—

“a feyre prymare which I had by the yefture of quene Elizabeth.” (Holgrave vii. (5a).)

The Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., 18,629, contains on the flyleaf an account of the banns being asked between certain people in 1487, and of their marriage in the church of St. Andrew, in Barnard Castle, at “fayve of þe klok.” The Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., 2. A. 18, has many notes in the calendar referring to great personages. The book is a very fine one. (See Plate.)

A pathetic interest attaches to the following note which has been extracted from a will dating 1491. The testator leaves two tenements to provide for certain periodical

services, "a masse and dirige and a pele after masse." He adds, referring to the directions he gives for the services:—

"I will, above all thyng, that thys note be wryten in the masse boke anone aftre my burying." (Somerset H. Wills, Vox 54b.)

Coucher and Leger.—In the lists of service-books drawn up in the Middle Ages as inventories of the books of the church, and also in the accounts of medieval churchwardens, the name "coucher" at times occurs. The name does not refer to the contents of the book, but indicates only that the volume was one of considerable size, such as should *lie* on a desk. Murray's *Historical Dictionary* has established this fact by a quotation of contemporary date (1519): "A whole boke is comunly called indifferentlye a volume, a boke, a coucher, but . . . A volume is lesse than a boke, and a boke lesse than a coucher."

The French word *coucher* will also serve to explain its meaning. Consequently, a coucher may have been any large volume—a Missal, Breviary, Legenda, or Antiphoner, etc., more probably than a Manual or Processional, etc.

The name "leger" refers to any large service-book in a similar way; this was also a book "to lie," a heavy book.

The following reference shows that it indicates not one specific service-book with reference to its contents. The extract records the gift of a Breviary:—

"of Master Richard Mawley and Alsun his wife a porteos called a leger" (Som. Rec. Soc. 4. 22).

In another instance the cowcher is an antiphoner :—

“I will that my said wife bye a grete antiphoner otherwise callid a cowcher.” (Somerset H. Wills, Adeane xxv. 5b.)

The Latin term “*liber dormiens*,” which is equivalent to a “*coucher*,” and is so translated by Mr. J. W. Clark, occurs in cap. xv. of the observances of the Augustinian Canons of Barnwell Priory, Cambridge, where it is noted that “it has been usual for the Sacrist very kindly (*‘valde curialiter,’ i.e. courteously*) to provide [a liberal supply of candles] for those who say mattins at midnight, *in ecclesia, ad librum dormientem.*” (*Customs, etc.*, p. 78.)

Service-books Chained.—In 1465 the churchwardens of St. Michael’s, Cornhill, paid several shillings for chains to fasten two Psalters (Waterlow’s *Accounts of St. Michael’s*). Possibly these books were so fastened for public use. The nature of the volumes points to such a belief; and the chains may have been deemed necessary where the volumes were purposely left publicly exposed.

The following extract, however, appears to indicate that a chained book was not necessarily for use by the public in general :—

“A legend sanctorum chayned byfore the vicars stall”
(*Inventories of St. Laurence, Reading, 1503–17*).

In 1491 the “parson” of St. James’s, Colchester, wills :—

“that my portuse [breviary] and all my bokys that be bownde, that they be chayned in seint petur’s chappell by the byble.” (Somerset H. Wills, Vox 54b.)

The above reference to a Bible in a chapel at this period is remarkable, but not unique. Among the books

in the choir at Glasgow Cathedral in 1432 was "*Biblia pulchra in antiquo testamento*" (Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., 1899, p. 323).

The following reference in a will of the same period to a processional seems to imply that this book must have been so placed for devotional purposes, for a processional would be commonly carried in procession :—

"a portuas and a procesionall to be had and kept for ever fastened with a chayne of iron in the lectourn there."
(Somerset H. Wills, Vox 21, 2b.)

In the Inventory reproduced in facsimile (see Plates) a number of books are mentioned as being "cheyned."

The Creed carved on a Rosary.—The following is an interesting bequest from a fifteenth-century will. The testator leaves

"a rowle [roll] of vii salmes and latany closed in a bagge of rede velwett with the payre of bedis [beads] carven with the crede." (Somerset H. Wills, Vox, lf. 61b.)

Books difficult to classify.—Great libraries sometimes contain books which do not fall into any class, either for service or devotional purposes. At times, too, in fifteenth-century wills bequests of books are made of which the contents are more or less uncertain, as, for instance :—

"my dirige boke closed with rede, conteignyng visitacion, anoyntyng, and buriing of dede folkes."
(Somerset H. Wills, Milles, lf. 103a.)

Variations in Service-books.—Service-books vary in a measure according to the diocese in which they were used: but it must be borne in mind that in the case of medieval service-books the period of their use extends over many

hundreds of years, and during this time no one part of the country was in touch with another as it is to-day. Each book, too, till the advent of printing, was an independent copy; consequently an exact agreement between books of the same class and period is in no way to be looked for as a general thing.

Of two Common Obliterations in Service-books.—All matter referring to the Pope and to St. Thomas of Canterbury in service-books will be found very frequently obliterated. These obliterations were carried out subsequent to the quarrel of Henry VIII. with the Pope. In a measure they contributed to the destruction of the old service-books even under Mary; for books which had been so defaced were deemed to be imperfect (Gibson, *Codex*, Tit. xi., cap. 1, tom. 1, p. 259 *n.*, referring to 1 Mariæ, sess. 2, c. 2, s. 3).

Of the Same Service being found in more than one Service-book.—Though each service-book provides the text for certain services, there is no rigid line of demarcation restricting absolutely the services proper to each book.

For instance, the services of Baptism, Marriage, and Burial, though belonging properly to the Manual, may also be found in the Pontifical; the Office for the Dead, though properly the text of the Dirge-book, is to be found also in the Manual, Psalter, Prymer, etc.; the Litany is found in several books—Processional, Manual, etc.; and the whole of the Benedictional may be found in the Pontifical. The Breviary and Missal, each a combination of various books, lie naturally outside the question.

Still, generally speaking, every service-book contains certain matter proper to itself.

The Decay of the Art of Service-book Making.—About the commencement of the sixteenth century manuscript service-books begin to exhibit signs of inferior workmanship compared with those executed in the preceding centuries.

In Bishop Longland's Benedictional, Brit. Mus. MS. 21,974, and Wolsey's Gospel-book, Magdalen Coll. MS. ccxxiii. (both of the early part of the sixteenth century), great efforts appear to have been made, in both text and illumination, that these volumes should be of especial splendour ; but the writing, intended to be bold, is straggling, and the miniatures, though full of colour, are without richness, and feeble in drawing.

The Service-books of a Medieval Parish Church.—A parish church possessing the following service-books might be considered to be fully provided with a complete set. It should be understood, however, that certain books not in the list, such as the Dirge-book, might be present, and that some of the books enumerated, such as the Epistle-book, might be wanting. The following books, however, contained all the services of the medieval parish church:—

Antiphoner.	Hymnal.
Breviary.	Manual.
Epistle-book.	Missal.
Gospel-book.	Processional.
Grayle.	

(L.)

CHAPTER III

THE VARIOUS BOOKS

THE BREVIARY OR PORTIFORIUM

THE Breviary, or Portos (like the "Manual"), fails to bear a description of its use in the name which is attached to it. Any *compendium* might claim to be called a "*breviarius*" or "*breviarium*"; any *vade mecum* might deserve to be styled in Latin "*portiforium*," in English-French "*porthors*,"¹ or in English "*porthos*" or "*portos*."

Of printed editions the earliest complete Sarum Breviary that we know (1483) calls itself simply "*Breviarium secundum morem et consuetudinem Ecclesie Sarum: Anglicane*." Then the folio of 1496 adopts a sort of apologetic style: "Divini officii . . . ne dicam *breviarium*: sed vt verius et ita loquar, *ordinarium* Sarum." In 1509 (if not earlier) the term *portiforium*—which had been already current for the portable manuscript Breviaries—was adopted as a name for those which were printed in quarto form, or smaller, as distinct from the ledger-like "couchers," or great Breviaries, which lay upon the desk, but were too

¹ Though of French origin, the word seems to have been in use in England only, to describe a Breviary; and Du Cange seems to find the Latin "*portiforium*" only in English documents.

unwieldy to carry under the arm.¹ It is practically impossible to say when the term "*breviarium*" was first applied to the compendium of books of the Divine Office, and it is not very easy to decide when the choir service (as distinct from the Mass, or altar service) itself began. Mgr. L. Duchesne points out that it took its rise from the private prayers of devout persons who began with the practice of private devotion twice a day, morning and evening, and then went on to emulate the psalmist, "Evening, and morning, and at noonday will I make my complaint" to God (Ps. lv. 17), and "Seven times a day do I praise Thee" (Ps. cxix. 164). The services of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, in the time of St. Jerome and the lady pilgrim whom we call Silvia, were at cock-crow, at Sext, None, and Evensong (the *lucernarium*), to which in Lent was added Terce. Lauds, at dawn, was a service separate both from the nocturnal office and from Prime, which was a subsequent institution, and at a later period Christians under monastic rule added the Compline (dormitory) prayers at bedtime, thus completing the number of "seven times a day"—the "*Day Hours*" properly so called—without counting the midnight nocturns commonly styled "Mattins," which continued to be a night service well on into medieval times.² How far these daily services were derived from those of the synagogue,³ and how far they owe their origin to the custom

¹ Cf. "Duo portiphoria de usu Sarum, alias nuncupata *lyggars*." Bequest of Roger Yve, 1444. Dugdale, *Monast.*, vi. p. 1388. See also p. 64, above.

² See Mgr. L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, chap. xvi.; Mgr. P. Batiffol, *Hist. du Bréviaire rom.*, chap. i. § iii.

³ Duchesne, *Origines*, chap. ii. § i. Cf. Batiffol, *Hist.*, I. i. p. 14, in Mr. A. M. Y. Baylay's translation (Longmans). Mgr. Duchesne's *Origines* has also been translated into English (S.P.C.K.) under the title of *Christian*

among early Christians of keeping a night watch (1) on Easter Even, when they commonly expected the Lord's final advent, and subsequently (2) for other Sundays and "stationary days," which were the Christian's substitute for the Sabbaths and two other synagogue days of the Jews, and (3) for the anniversaries of the martyrs, it is not our business to discuss here. It is enough to say that from the custom of monastic and ascetic persons reciting their private devotions in community was developed the Roman office, under the influence of the Benedictine rule and in connexion with the great monasteries attached to the basilicas in Rome. This Use may have come into our own country with Archbishop Theodore (A.D. 668), but it seems probable that the old Roman service was displaced or modified considerably in the thirteenth century. We must await the patient researches of such students as Mr. Edmund Bishop and others to bring out from obscurity the history of private devotion and common prayer in the Celtic and the Norman Church of England.

The title "*Portos*" implies that the recitation of the hours of prayer partook (if we may so say) of a *nomadic* character, while the eucharistic service had its local centre, being restricted to the *mensa*, or consecrated Table of the Lord. This characteristic of the Breviary is emphasised on the first page of even the less portable folios of Sarum Use. It is "*Horarium domesticum, sive choro ecclesiastico deserviens.*" Its contents may be recited by the priest, or clerk, or layman, in his own chamber, with Daniel (vi. 10),

Worship. So long ago as 1855, Archdeacon P. Freeman, in his *Principles of Divine Service*, pointed out the connexion between the Divine Office and the synagogue service, and cited also the Eastern "Hymn of the Bridegroom's Coming," part i. chap. i. §§ 3, 5, etc.

no less than when "keeping the choir" in church,¹ as the psalmist would not only "pour out his heart by himself," but would "go with the multitude, and bring them forth into the house of God . . . with them that keep holy day." (Ps. xlii. 4.)

At first perhaps his Bible and Psalter, with a few pages of private prayers and canticles, would suffice for the recitation of the daily office of the clergy. Hymns were introduced in some places by the middle of the twelfth century among the secular clergy in divine service, long after they had been in use under monastic rules. Many metrical Latin hymns had been composed by St. Hilary of Poitiers (who died in 367), and with greater success by St. Ambrose (*d.* 397). We find that they had been introduced among the monks by the first quarter of the sixth century; but the Church at large looked upon the innovation with some suspicion. Fifty years later the Council of Braga (A.D. 563) forbade the public use of any hymn beside the psalms. Amalarius, in the days of Charlemagne and Alcuin, revised the Use of Lyons; and the *Breviarium S. Lugdunensis ecclesiæ, primæ Galliarum sedis*, printed in 1737, is still guiltless of any such innovation as a hymn. *Nescit enim novitates*. Some of us are old enough to remember the time when Anglican churches were innocent of Hymnals, and in fact recognised nothing but *Veni Creator* and the seven or more hymns for Christmas, for Holy Communion, etc., appended to their "Tate and Brady."

¹ A chantry priest was often directed in the ordinance of his foundation "to be present in the quyer in his habyte of a parson in principall and double feestes, the tyme of mattens, processyons, and evensong, and to rede lessons, begynne anthems," etc. (see *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, Surtees Soc., vol. xci. pp. 10, 12, 15, 86, 307).

By the beginning of the twelfth century even the secular clergy required something more than a Psalter and Antiphoner for singing the Divine Office, as they had also for the reading required something more than a Bible for the Mattins lessons. Hymnal, *Homiliarius*, Passional, *Sermologus*, formed a considerable library in themselves, practically precluding the clergy from saying their orderly service even in the plainest manner in any place except a church or a study, where one could have a series of books about him. But the active curate or mission-priest needed a compact volume which he could sling from his girdle, or wear in his wallet, as he trotted or trudged about his cure or district. And the devout statesman also needed his *compendium*, epitomised from the scattered volumes. Thus in 804 Alcuin dedicates to Charlemagne what he calls a *Breviarium*, *commatico sermone*, a short prayer-book for lay use.¹

We come across the word again in 861, when Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, draws up a *Breviarium Psalterii* (Migne, *Patr. Latin*, t. cxv.).² Although these are devotional books,³ it is not perhaps until two centuries later that we come upon the mention of a Breviary, in the now common acceptation, in a treatise known as *Micrologus*, ascribed to Bernoldus de Constantiis, *cir.* 1080 (*Patr. Lat.*

¹ See Migne, *Patr. Latin*, t. ci. p. 509. *Lincoln Statutes*, iii. p. 826 n. Cf. Batiffol, *Hist. Brev.*, ed. Barclay, p. 204.

² Wyclif appears to have used the word at a later period in that less technical sense: "Breuyaries, that is smale Sauteres or abbregid" (*Engl. Works*, ed. F. D. Matthew, p. 41).

³ Examples of the term *breviarius*, -um, in a non-liturgical sense are "*Breviarius Constantini*, qui dicitur viaticus" (MS. Coll. Pet. I. I. I; "*Breviarium Fidei* adv. Arianos, per fac. Sirmondum"; "*Breviarium Equestre*," J. Bircherodi, folio 1704. Mgr. Batiffol gives instances of "*breviarium*" = *catalogus librorum* in the ninth and tenth centuries, and of "*Breviarium Computi*" in the eleventh.

clxi. cap. 28). The smaller books of that kind, called "*Breviaria itineraria*," or "*portatilia*" in other countries, began as early as the date of the *Micrologus* to be called "*Portiforia*" in England (Ingulfus, in *Hist. Croyland*, cir. 1076-1109).¹

The collection of books which the Breviaries and Portoses were designed to unite and epitomise, and which they came in fact for the most part to supersede, were these :—

Psalter, and	} for Psalmody.
Antiphoner	
<i>Liber Responsalis</i> , for Responds.	
<i>Bibliotheca</i> , or <i>Biblia</i>	} for Lessons.
<i>Homiliarius</i> , or <i>Sermologus</i>	
<i>Passionarium</i>	
Collectar, for Prayers (and <i>Capitula</i>).	
<i>Hymnale</i> , for Hymnody.	
<i>Martilogium</i> , for the Chapter Office.	
<i>Kalendarium</i>	} for the Kalendar.
<i>Compotus</i>	

And in course of time the *Ordinale* and Customary contributed a mass of rubrics. The *Pica*, or *Directorium*, supplied "the Rules called the Pye"; and even the Dirge-book and the Canon (with the Ordinary of the Mass), the Litany (from the Processional, or the *Litaneuticus*) and the *Accentuarius*, or guide to pronunciation of the *penultima*, were incorporated, for the convenience of medieval English clergy; so that the later Breviaries were in some directions even more comprehensive than is the English Book of Common Prayer.

We are not able at present to refer the reader with confidence to a really early example of an English

¹ Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, i. p. xcix. n.

Breviary. The so-called "*Portiforium Oswaldi*," in the Parker Collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (cod. 391), written apparently in 1064, awaits a fuller examination. Its provenance is Worcester, and it is described by Nasmith as a thick volume in 8vo form, consisting of Kalendar, Psalter, with hymns and prayers in Saxon and Latin, and some "*prognostica*" in the vernacular.¹ The oldest "Breviary" noticed in the old

¹ The Rev. Walter Howard Frere has very kindly furnished us with a fuller summary of the contents of the (so-called) *Portiforium Oswaldi*. (St. Oswald was made Bishop of Worcester in 960. In 972 he became Archbishop of York, but continued to hold the other see also until his death in 992.)

MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, cod. Parker, 391: (leaves 374, measuring 224 × 130 m.) Worcester Breviary of the eleventh century:—
Page 1. Tables, Kalendar, etc.

Liber sancte Marie Wygornensis ecclesie, per Sanctum Oswaldum.

Page 3. Kalendar.

Pages 15-23. Tables.

Page 24. Picture of King David.

Page 25. Psalter, Canticles, and Litany (without music).

The Canticles include *Gloria*, *Pater*, *Credo in Deum*.

Page 227. *Incipiunt hymni ambrosiani canendi per singulas horas secundum constit. patris nostri Benedicti*. (Many hymns have music. A later hand of, perhaps, the fourteenth century, has added a hymn for the Transfiguration.)

Page 295. Collectarius.

Chapters, Collects, and some notation for Day Hours.

Page 295. *Temporale*.

Page 454. *Sanctorale*: St. Stephen to St. Andrew (with music). St. Silvester to St. Thomas, collects only.

Page 544. *Commune Sanctorum*. Dedication of Church.

Page 560. Holy Water, with special ceremonies. Ordeal. Benediction of things, etc. Anglo-Saxon and Latin. (A gap occurs here).

Page 621. *Commune Sanctorum*, with full music (different style). Mattins as well as Day Hours.

Page 661. Lessons and Responds for Sundays after Trinity.

Page 685. Trinity Sunday in full, and ferial week following.

Page 701. Feria VI., *de Cruce*, and Sabbato, *de S. Maria*.

Page 708. *Vigilie Mortuorum* (without music).

Page 713. Anglo-Saxon and Latin Kalendar Rules.

Page 723. Responds for Advent, *O Sapientia* and other *O's*.

British Museum Catalogue of MSS. (Harl. 2961. 37. 9) is more properly described by Mr. Dewick (who is preparing to edit it for the H. Bradshaw Society) as the "*Leofric Collectar.*" It was a few centuries since purchased in Exeter, "in St. Peter's Churchyard." It consists of 256 leaves, measuring $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It has no lessons for Mattins, and comprises collects and little chapters, etc., for the *Temporale*, *Proprium Sanctorum*, Service for the Dead (repeated), *Commune Sanctorum*, Dedication Anniversary, Hymns *de proprietate*, *de communi*, and Dedication, followed by Proses. Among saints commemorated are Olave (July 29), and Landabert (Lambert, Sept. 17).

We can, however, point to descriptions of thirteenth-century Breviaries. Thus we find at Thorpe, one of the dependent churches of St. Paul's, London, in 1251-2: "liber *portehors* qui est Vicarii, de minuta litera, habens legendam et plura responsoria et ympnarium cum capitulario et collectario et psalterio." This seems to have been a Breviary with component parts not as yet digested, but with collects, etc., in one part, and hymns in another. (*Visitations*, Camd. Soc., 1895, pp. 23, 24.) Similarly, at Pelham Furneaux, in April, 1252, a "*Breviarium*" had a "kalendarium in capite, collectarium intermixtum cum antiphonario notato et psalterio et ympnario, et cum proprio officio Sanctorum quod in parte non est notatum, nec London, nec Sarum ordinem continens, finiens in officio plurimarum Virginum" (*h.e.* in Communi Sanctorum; *ibid.*, p. 19). It is noteworthy that at seven churches visited by the Dean in 1249-50 not a single Breviary appears; but in the seven reports of 1251-2 four have a "Breviary" and one a "Portehors" (not counting the

vicar's extra Portos just mentioned). At Pelham Arsa the Breviary is in two volumes, though not corresponding to the two half-years, but, roughly speaking, (1) *de Tempore*, and (2) *de Sanctis*. We are inclined to think that 1250 may be the date when the Dean of St. Paul's was beginning to require Breviaries in place of the old Collectars, Antiphoners, Lectionaries, Hymnals, etc. At Heybridge, in 1252, where there was a Portehors, there is the curious report, "Unum temporale cum ymnpario sanctorum per se, consuetudinarius quia nullus." (*Visitations*, p. 11.) This may imply that *Temporalia* had now generally come to be supplied with rubrics out of the old custom-books. We learn from early wills that the "portose," or "portues," was a book very commonly bequeathed alike by parsons and lay folk.

A few thirteenth-century MS. Breviaries are extant in the Bodleian: MS. Bodl. 547, from Rackford, Suffolk. Bodl. Rawl. C. 73. (adapted later for Irish use). MS. Barlow, 41. Benedictine, P. H. Evesham. (Bodl. Rawl. lit. e. 1*, is a late thirteenth-century Benedictine Breviary from Newminster, Winton, sometimes called Hyde Abbey.)

When we come to the printed books, or to the later MSS., we stand on surer ground.

The Sarum and York Breviaries (of 1531 and 1493) have been reprinted in recent years, and the still rarer Hereford book is in preparation for the Henry Bradshaw Society; and two Scottish Breviaries—Aberdeen (1519–20), and the Marquess of Bute's fifteenth-century MS., both of them of the Sarum family—are already accessible. We will therefore content ourselves here with noting the

contents of the Sarum Breviary, while we indicate the series of illustrations in a noble MS. (Lambeth, cod. 69) which belonged to Archbishop H. Chicheley, about 1408, and in the printed Great Breviary (folio, Paris, 1531), of which there is a copy in the Lambeth Palace Library (11. e. 9) and elsewhere.

But first we may briefly describe the elements of which the Breviary is composed.

The Daily Office of Divine Service (as distinct from the Liturgy of the Eucharist) contains the following component parts:—¹

First the service of praise, consisting in (1) Psalmody, (2) Canticles, and (3) Hymnody. Secondly, reading (4) the Bible, and (5) other good writings. And, thirdly, prayer, expressed in (6) *Preces*, or versicles, and (7) collects, or orisons, and suffrages, or memorials (called elsewhere "*Memoriae*"). In the three great divisions we may look upon one of the elements in each as paramount, viz. the psalms of David, the Bible lessons, and the series of collects.

I. As to the Psalter (which is now in the Church of England distributed over a monthly course), it was, in the secular Breviaries, with which we are here concerned, arranged for complete recitation every week. In his Preface to the Prayer-book (1549), Cranmer has told us that "the auncient fathers had deuided the psalmes into seuen porcions: wherof euery one was called a nocturne." To describe more truly the arrangement of the Breviary, he ought to have said that the first (108, *Vulgate*, or) 109

¹ This is succinctly stated in the General Exhortation prefixed in 1552 to the Mattins of the Book of Common Prayer. In our Christian assemblies we (in the Eucharist) "render *thanks*," and (in the choir service) "set forth God's *praise*," "hear His *Word*," and "*ask* things requisite."

psalms, or, with some omissions,¹ 90 of these psalms, were divided into nocturns, strictly speaking, nine rather than seven, and that three of these (12+3+3 psalms, or 18 in all) were assigned to Sunday at Mattins, the fourth nocturn to Monday's Mattins, and one nocturn (of 12 psalms) apiece to the Mattins of the other days of the week. Then the remaining psalms, cx.-cl. (omitting Psalm cxix. and a few others, viz. cxvii., cxxxiii., and clii.), were in like manner distributed for the Evensong or vesper service of Sunday and other days of the week.

But the system of the Divine Office provides for six other daily services besides Mattins and Evensong; and to each of these were attached certain proper psalms, namely, those psalms to which we have alluded as having been omitted from the weekly course of Mattins and Evensong. Thus the long Psalm cxix. (cxviii. *Vulgate*) was said over daily, in part at Prime, and the rest in order at the services of Terce, Sext, and Nones. For the service of Lauds, Psalm li. (l. *Vulgate*) was said daily, except on Sundays and other festivals (as well as in other services in penitential seasons); then came a special psalm for the day of the week, then Psalms lxiii., lxvii. (lxii., lxvi.) daily, and after a special Old Testament canticle assigned to each day of the week, the other fixed psalms of laud and praise, cxlviii.-cl., concluding daily with the Gospel canticle "*Benedictus*."

Mattins had *Te Deum* at the conclusion of its lessons, except on certain days. Prime had certain fixed psalms, and the hymn "*Quicunque vult*." Evensong culminated

¹ Eighteen psalms—iv., v., xxi.-xxv., xlii., l., liii., lxii., lxiv., lxvi., lxxxix.-xciv.—are omitted from the Mattins course, because they are already in constant requisition (most of them daily) at other services of the Breviary.

in the Gospel canticle *Magnificat*. Compline, like Prime, had its fixed psalms for use nightly throughout the year, but it had also, like Mattins and Evensong, its fixed Gospel canticle ("*Nunc dimittis*").

Of Antiphons and Hymnody we shall speak when we describe the Antiphoner and the Hymnal. The hymn comes between *Venite* and the psalms at Mattins; and likewise before the psalms at Prime, Terce, Sext, and Nones; but after the psalms and *Capitulum*, and before the canticle, at Lauds, Evensong, and Compline.

II. As regards the reading, which forms the second great element of Divine Service, the Bible naturally takes the prominent place. It is well known that in the Church of England the Old Testament, including some selections from the Apocryphal books, is read over (with some omissions) once, and the New Testament (with very few omissions) twice in the course of the year; excepting that the Revelation (or the greater part of it) is read but once, about the season of Advent. But the older generations can recollect the time when the daily lessons always included an entire chapter of the Bible, and when the New Testament was read through *thrice* a year, and the omissions from the Old Testament were somewhat fewer. A system of reading proper lessons on Sundays at least from the Old Testament (and on principal Sundays and movable feasts also from the New) interferes somewhat with the daily course, but the proper lessons for immovable feasts merely postpone, but do not now supersede, the daily reading. Cranmer tells us in his Preface (1549) that, according to "the auncient fathers," it had been "ordred . . . that all the whole Bible (or the greatest parte thereof) should be read ouer once in the yeare." And that "the

boke of Esaie [historia "*Aspiciens*"] was begon in Aduent, and the booke of Genesis in Septuagesima." Between these, intervened readings from St. Paul's Epistles. We may borrow the following account of the Scripture course from Caxton's "table," prefixed to his *Golden Legend* (1483): "The hystorye of Adam, the hystorye of Noe, of Abraham, of Ysaac and his two sones Esau and Jacob, Thystorye of Joseph, of Moses (Exodus), of Josue." Caxton omits the New Testament and the prophetical "histories"¹—Hieremie prophete (for Passion-tide), Lamentationes (for the "still days" in Holy Week), Apocalypsis (after Easter week), Epistole canonicales (later in Easter-tide), and Actus (from Ascension-tide); but he continues, "The fyrst feryal sonday after TrynYTE sonday is redde thystoryes of Samuel the prophete and of Saul the fyrst kynge of Israhel, thystorye of Dauid kyng, of Salamon, of Roboas" (then he omits historia Sapientie, "*In principio*," read about the beginning of September), "of Job" ("*Si bona*"), "thystorye of Thoby, '*Peto, Domine*,' thystory of Judyth" ("*Adonay*," late in September). And to these we must add historia Machabeorum "*Adaperiat*," about the beginning of October, and historia Ezechielis, "*Vidi Dominum*," begun about the beginning of November.

Cranmer, like Cardinal Quignonez (and like the Brigittine Wykehamist, Clement Maydeston, before them), pointed out that this arrangement had been largely disannulled by the frequent introduction of saints' days with their proper lessons, and the weekly commemorations of the Blessed Virgin, St. Thomas the Martyr, and in some

¹ Caxton has, however, agreeably with the plan of his *Golden Legend*, the history "of the passyon of our Lord," "the resurrexyon," "the ascension," "the feste of Whytsontyde," etc.

places another local patron saint of the Church, so interfering with the regular course of Bible reading, "by planting in vncertain stories, Legendes, Respondes, Verses, vaine repeticions, Commemoracions and Synodalles, that commonly when any boke of the Bible was begon : before three or foure chapters were read out, all the rest were vnread."

The lessons themselves were long, in days of old : but by a tendency *sequioris aevi* in all times, they came to be curtailed. In the Breviary the scripture reading was confined for the most part to one service a day, viz. Mattins, and usually to one (or perhaps two) of the three nocturns assigned to that service on Sundays. At the other festal nocturns oftentimes the reading was entirely non-scriptural, *i.e.* it was, at the most, extracted from a sermon, or from a homily upon the Gospel of the day in the case of the three lessons of the third nocturn,¹ and sometimes the lessons consisted of extracts from the acts and passion of the martyr, or the life of some other holy person, commemorated on the festival. The four Gospels were left entirely to the Mass, or altar service, and were not heard at all in the choral "Divine Service" of the Canonical Hours, except when, at the third nocturn of a Sunday or other holy day, a verse or so of the day's Gospel was prefixed, as a sort of text, to introduce the homily.

The Bible reading at the other hours, apart from Mattins, was confined to a *capitulum*, or "Little Chapter," which at Compline was invariably from Jeremiah xiv., the latter

¹ In the secular Breviary each nocturn has a set of three short lessons attached to its *quota* of psalms, and the three lessons are separated from each other by the repetition, or singing, of responds. In Easter-tide there are but three lessons ; on Sundays and greater saints' days there are three nocturns with three lessons each.

half of verse 9. At Prime, it was taken either from 1 Timothy i. 17, or Isaiah xxxiii. 2, or (on week-days) from Zechariah viii. 16, in Sarum use; while in York use it was invariably the second of these. At the five other day hours the *capitulum* consisted of a snippet of about one verse, often selected (at least in English Uses) from the Epistle appointed for the Mass of the day.

We shall speak of the *Legenda*, *Passional*, *Sermologus*, and *Homiliarius* in another place. As Lessons follow Psalms at Mattins, so the Little Chapter follows the Psalms at the other hours of prayer.

III. We come now to the third and last principal element of Divine Service—the prayers.

The Lord's Prayer, and (generally speaking) the orisons or collects, are the common property of the Breviary with the Missal; or, more strictly speaking, the Breviary borrows its collects largely from the Missal.¹ The Collect for the Day (just after the Gospel canticle in those services—Lauds, Evensong, and Compline—where such a commemoration of the Incarnation is provided) forms the culminating point of most of the Canonical Hours,² and, being borrowed from the Missal service, it provides a kind of memorial of the Eucharistic worship. But in the days of Charlemagne and St. Benet the Lord's Prayer still occupied this place of honour, and the collects were imported here later from the Missal.³

The service of Prayer comprises also certain introductory

¹ Thus in the Book of Common Prayer the collects in 1549 had the running title, "*At the Communion.*" And in the rubric at Mattins and Evensong the collect—"the firste of the daye"—is accurately defined as "the same that is appointed at the Communion," and not *vice versa*.

² The exceptions are Prime and Compline, which have proper collects of their own.

³ Batiffol (tr. Baylay), p. 97.

versicles or sentences, such as "*Deus, in adiutorium meum intende*, to which is prefixed at Compline "*Converte nos, Deus, salutaris noster*," as at Mattins there is a verse bearing reference to praise. The Lord's Prayer was said in late medieval times, with *Ave* and *Credo*, as a sort of private preparation before each canonical hour, and also at the close of Mattins and Evensong. It was said also, with what is called an "*Absolutio*," before the Mattins lessons, and at the *Preces* between "*Benedictus*" and the collect at ferial Lauds, as well as at those of Evensong and Compline, and at those attached to the Little Hours (Prime, Terce, Sext, and Nones). The Lord's Prayer was not said with a loud voice (except at Mass) until the priest, having said his *Pater* through privately, repeated his "*Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*," again, when he uttered it *in audientia*, the choir in like manner responding, "*Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.*" To "*Pater noster*" was prefixed the thrice-repeated Greek "*Kyrie*," derived, no doubt, from the Eastern custom of litanies, "beginning at Jerusalem." In process of time other responsive *preces*, or versicles, were added, such as still have their representative in Anglican Mattins and Evensong. To these commonly succeeded (after the Collect for the Day) at Lauds and Evensong one or more suffrages,¹ called *memoriae*, each of which consisted of a supplemental collect, preceded by a suitable antiphon, versicle, and response, the antiphon being (where possible) that appointed for use with *Benedictus* or *Magnificat* of the festival, which corresponded to

¹ In the scheme of the services given in Procter and Frere's *History of Common Prayer* (1901), pp. 352, 353, the term "suffrages" is used in a different sense, for what we may call *preces*, or in common parlance, "responses," or versicles. Instances of the old use of the word "*suffragia*" appear in *Brev. Ebor.*, i. 195, 939; ii. 345.

the subject of the *memoria*. This might be a saint's day, Sunday, octave, or season which in point of importance ranked, on that occasion, below the special subject of the service to which it was appended. "Common suffrages," in Sarum Use, were of All Hallows, the Blessed Virgin, the Cross, for Peace, the Relics, local saint, the Holy Spirit; and those in Advent, Lent, and at other seasons, were of Advent, for penitents, of the Resurrection, Ascension, Holy Trinity, and Corpus Christi. From time to time there would also be occasion for a *memoria* of the Fast, Feria, Vigil, or Weekly Commemoration which happened to be displaced, or of any subordinate saint or Sunday.

We cannot do more than mention the existence of certain supplementary services, which were attached as accretions to Sarum and other Uses: the ferial litanies in Lent, the Evensong and Mattins of the Dead ("*Placebo*" and "*Dirige*"), the Little Office and Daily Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the Office for the Peace of the Church, a kind of capitular service said after Lauds and Compline at Salisbury, and the "*Psalmi Familiares*," or intercessions for the Minster Brotherhood at York.¹ Most of the English Cathedral Chapters of the "old foundation" provided for a daily recitation of the entire Psalter, Canticles, Litany, with intercession for the living and the dead, by the division of the labour of repetition among the Bishop (Abbots, if any) and other Canons of the Church. Of the Chapter Office we shall speak under the head of the *Martilogium*.

A very short summary of the principal contents and the

¹ *Brev. Ebor.*, i. 285, 288, 337, 369, 374. Cf. *Concordia Regularis*, ap. Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, append. iii. pp. 80, 81; Dugd. *Monast.*, i. pp. xxx, xxxii.

structural arrangement of the several Canonical Hours may be thus given in tabular form—

SERVICES.	INTRODUCTION.	Table of Canonical Hours.			THE OFFICE.												
1. MATTINS.	<p>Pater (Ave) privately. <i>Verse</i>—Domine, labia.</p> <p><i>V.</i>—Deus, in adiutorium, etc. Venite, with Invitatory. Hymn, with <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i></p> <p>NOCTURNS.*</p> <p>[Festal.]</p> <table> <tr> <td>(i.)</td><td>12 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i></td><td>3 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i></td><td>3 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i></td><td>3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ii.</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>iii.</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i> "Te Deum."</td> </tr> </table>	(i.)	12 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i>	3 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i>	3 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i>	3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i>	ii.				3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i>	iii.				3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i> "Te Deum."	Versiculus Sacerdotalis, introductory to Lauds.
(i.)	12 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i>	3 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i>	3 psalms, with Antiphons. <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i>	3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i>													
ii.				3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i>													
iii.				3 lessons, with Blessing and <i>R.</i> "Te Deum."													
2. LAUDS. 7. EVENSONG. 8. COMPLINE.	<p>— (<i>Verse</i>—Converte nos, at Compline only.)</p> <p><i>V.</i>—Deus, in adiutorium, etc.</p> <p>—</p> <p>Psalms (including an O.T. Canticle at Lauds) with Antiphon.</p> <p><i>Capitulum</i>, with (<i>R.</i> and) Deo gratias.</p> <p>Hymn, with <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i></p> <p>Gospel Canticle, with Antiphons.</p> <p>—</p> <p>[Preces.</p> <p>Kyrie, Pater, Credo.</p> <p>§ Preces, Penitential psalms. Preces.] Oremus. Collect. [Compline collect.] [Memorials at Lauds and Evensong.] Conclusion. (Benedicamus.)</p>	<p>3. PRIME. 5. SEXT.</p> <p>Pater (Ave) privately.</p> <p><i>V.</i>—Deus, in adiutorium, etc.</p> <p>Hymn (fixed), with <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i></p> <p>Psalms (with Hymn "Qui-cunque" at Prime), with Antiphon.</p> <p><i>Capitulum</i>, with Deo gratias.</p> <p><i>R.</i> <i>V.</i> and <i>R.</i></p> <p>Versicles.</p> <p>[Kyrie, Pater noster, (Ave) Credo. § Preces, Penitential psalms. Preces.] Oremus. Collect. [Prime collect.] Conclusion. (Benedicamus.)</p>															

* On ferial days, and in Easter-tide, there is but one nocturn or set of psalms and lessons at Mattins. On Saturdays and the greater festivals there are usually two additional nocturns, so that these are feasts of Nine Lessons.
 § The General Confession, "*Confiteor*," etc., occurs here in ferial Compline and Prime.

At the end of Prime followed sometimes *Pretiosa* for the faithful departed, and the psalm *Levavi* (cxx.) for brethren and benefactors, in Sarum Use. Likewise, after Compline, a supplication for the peace of the Church, with psalm *Ad te levavi* (cxxii.).

The Mass of the Day (*Magna missa*) followed either Terce, Sext, or Nones, according to the festal, ferial, or penitential character of the day. Litany was said, after the fifteen gradual psalms, at the end of Terce on weekdays in Lent; the Seven (or Eight) Hours of the Blessed Virgin, and Hours of the Dead, were attached to the Canonical Hours.

The Book of Common Prayer speaks of general confession as a fit preparation, not only for the Eucharistic thanksgiving liturgy, but also for the Divine Service with its praises, scripture reading, and petitions; and it provides such forms accordingly for use at Mattins, Holy Communion, and Evensong. In our note to the foregoing table we have pointed out the occurrence of the Latin General Confession, "*Confiteor*" (with "*Misereatur*" and "*Absolutionem*") at Prime and Compline. Chaucer's *Personne's Tale* refers to this (§ 22, 2^{da} pars *Pœnitentiæ in fine*), "Men may also refreyne venial sinne by receyvinge worthily of the precious body of Jesu Crist; by receyving eek of holy water: by almesdede; by general confession of *Confiteor* at masse [and at prime]¹ and at complin; and by blessinge of bisshopes and of preestes, and by othere gode werkes." The *Ars moriendi*, printed by Caxton (or by Wynken de Worde) about 1491, has a somewhat similar

¹ The reference to *Prime* is found in Tyrwhitt's text (Gilfillan's *Canterbury Tales*, iii. 218), but is apparently rejected by Skeat (*Student's Chaucer*, p. 687).

passage. “¶ By thyes folowyng aen¹ venyall synnes taken awaye, yf they be done deuoutly.

“In takyng holy water [&] holy brede, also by seyeng *Pater noster*, and spirytually² for this clause and petycion, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. ¶ And also by knocking of y^e brest for one’s sinnes, and also for seyng of *Deus, propicius esto michi peccatori*, and by seyeng of the comyne *Confiteor* at masse or at other tyme. Also by receyuyng of ony of y^e sacramentes of the chyrche,” etc., etc.³

We pass now to our list of the contents of the Sarum Breviary.

We shall attempt to give a comprehensive account of the *maximum* contents of Sarum Breviaries derived from a comparison of—

(C.) *The Chichele MS.*, Lambeth, No. 69, a beautifully illuminated folio, of the beginning of the fifteenth century, written on 414 leaves of vellum (414 *b*–8 blank), height 13½ inches, in double columns, forty lines to a column. Some description of it has been given by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, in his *Art Treasures of Lambeth Library*, 1873, p. 31.

(B.) The Great Breviary of 1531, printed on paper, Chevallon and Regnault, Paris, folio. The height of the Lambeth copy (11. c. 9) is 16 inches. Fifty lines, double columns. Leaves 8 + 222 + 100 + 190 + 12 = 532 folios.

(P.) Some printed smaller Breviaries and *Portiforia*, A.D. 1483, 1499, 1519, 1525–6, 1556.

¹ *i.e.* *aren* (are).

² *Qu.* “specyally.”

³ *Bodleian Reprints*, 1891, fo. A. iiij. verso.

CONTENTS OF SARUM BREVIARIES

Title-page. *Benedictiones Matutinales* (for the lessons).

I. KALENDARIUM

The Almanac, each month headed with one of the verses relating to the unlucky or "Egyptian" days, two apiece, counted one from the beginning and the other back from the end of each month.

"*Prima dies mensis, et septima truncat ut ensis*," etc., and at the foot the countryman's kalendar, *Pocula leta pius amat et convivium Janus*."

Portiforia contain additional rules: "Omnia festa, que infra Septuagesimam contingunt, habent invitatorium," etc. The order of the principal component parts of the Breviary differs according to the fancy of the owner or his scribe or bookbinder. Thus in C. the kalendar (ff. 203-8) comes after the *Temporale*, and just before the *Psalterium*. It is written in gold, red, blue, green, and black.

Tabula festorum mobilium. *Rotæ*, or dials, of Sol and Luna (Sunday letter and golden number). *Claves festorum mobilium*. Canons of feasts and new moons. Other memorial lines, *Extracta ex Compoto* (P. 1530).

Rubrice generales.

(*Summa in Anglia de ecclesiis*. Brev. 1483. *Maydestone's Tracts*, p. 140; cf. Peterhouse MSS. 90, 196.)

(*Hec sunt festa cum regimine chori secundum usum Sarum*. Brev. 1483. *Maydestone*, p. 137.)

(*Isti versus de S. Maria*: "Virgo parens vixit . . . astra petivit," *ibid.*, p. 140.)

II. TEMPORALE, OR PROPRIUM DE TEMPORE

Begins "*DOMINICA prima Aduentus Domini.*" In the large initial "D" in MS. C. a miniature of a bishop amid his "confratres et concanonici" is introduced.

Advent. Picture of the Annunciation.

B. and the *Portt.* (after W. de Worde's experiment in 1506) regularly from 1509 have sections of the *Directorium* or "Rules called the Pye," introduced at convenient places in the course of the *Temporale*. In *B.* all the homilies on the Gospels, which provide lessons for the third nocturn on Sundays and holy days, have each a suitable little woodcut of the evangelical event, parable, or miracle (or else of the saint) to which the liturgical gospel of the day's Mass refers, as in the printed Missals.

Christmas-eve. The Nativity: the Babe adored by His mother and St. Joseph. (In *C.* the Child swaddled in the crib, Blessed Virgin Mary on bed.) Service of St. Thomas Becket ruled out in *C.*

The Circumcision: *B.* Epiphany. Christ's Baptism: *C.* *Tabula historiarum*: *B. P.* Sunday after Epiphany: the Magi: *B.*

In Cena Domini: Last Supper: *B.* Good Friday: the Crucifixion: *B.* At Easter-even: *Gratie tam ad cenam quam ad prandium.* Brev. 1483. *Maydestone's Tracts*, pp. 152-6. Easter: the Resurrection (Christ's stepping from the tomb: *C.*). The Ascension. Whitsun-eve: B.V.M. and Apostles at Pentecost (tongues of fire not shown): *C.*; (the dove in *B.*). Trinity Sunday: the Father, crucifix, and dove: *C.*; illustration from *Te Deum*, "*Te gloriosus apostolorum . . . Te per orbem,*" etc.: *B.* Corpus Christi: King holds chalice and host, attended by

knights ("temp. Hen. IV."; *Kershaw*), and clerks; Last Supper repeated from fo. 120: *B*.

Rubrica magna. Historia Regum. Regula de historia "In principio." The shorter pie in *C*.; both pies in *B. P*.

Exposiciones Evangeliorum (after Trinity). No woodcut illustrations.

In Dedicacione Ecclesie. Bishop outside the church blesses holy water: *C*. No woodcut in *B*.

Finis officiorum dominicalium.

(*Benedictiones ad lectionem* occur here in *C*. Also *Divisio festorum duplicium in ecclesia Sarum. In quibus festis. ix. lec. non legitur explicio. De modo terminandi oraciones.* These are prefixed to the *Temporale* in *B*., which adds special collects of St. Wolfadus, M.; SS. Radegunde, Modwenna, and Edith, virgins,¹ and a brief index of miscellanea to be found appended to the *Psalterium* in that edition, 1531.)

Portif., 1530, adds, *Hore pro fidelibus Defunctis*. See appendix to *Maydestone's Tracts*, pp. 194-6.

III. PSALTERIUM, AND COMMUNE SANCTORUM, ETC.

(a) The Psalter, or *Commune de Tempore*, with ordinary of the Sunday and ferial hour services. *Ante horas di[cenda]*. Rubric describing private recitation of *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Credo*, with the text of these common formularies, preceded by a private prayer before service, "*Aperi, Domine, os meum.*"

Venite, divided for repetition with an Invitatory at Mattins. Rubric for Invitatories. Mattins Hymns.

The *Portiforia* prefix two prefatory instructions for the clergy. "*De horis canonicis attende diligenter. Cum*

¹ See above, p. 12.

igitur ('Cum ita sit quod,' *P.* 30) beneficiatus omnis, *etc.* Cum Domino psalles, *etc.* . . . libentius exaudit quam alias privatas." *De laude, virtute, et efficacia psalmorum.* Regius sic inquit propheta David: Psallite . . . inquirere velis. Et hec de laude et virtute psalmorum sufficiant."

Sunday, first nocturn. Psalm *Beatus vir* (i), *etc.* David among the sheep is anointed by Samuel. Here (fo. 209), as at fo. 1, *C.* introduces heraldic miniatures in the margin: royal arms; arms of Archbishop of Canterbury; arms, or, a chevron between three cinque foils gules, *Chichele*. In the capital "B" for "Beatus vir" Brev. *B.* introduces a second picture of David here, praying. A large woodcut also: *B.*

Sunday, Lauds. Small woodcut of the Visitation: *B.* Prime. Nativity; B.V. Mary and St. Joseph in adoration. Terce. Pentecost. Sext. The Ascension (or Transfiguration?). Nones. Church triumphant and militant.

Monday, Mattins. Ps. *Dominus illuminatio* (xxvi.). David (crowned) plays before Saul: *C.*; the Betrayal: *B.*

Tuesday, do. Ps. *Dixi, custodiam* (xxxviiij.). David returns to Saul's castle, bearing Goliath's head on the point of his sword: *C.*; the Scourging: *B.*

Wednesday, do. Ps. *Dixit insipiens* (liij.). Michal stands by the teraphim in the bed, awaiting Saul's messengers: *C.*; the Mockery: *B.*

Thursday, do. Ps. *Salvum me fac* (lxviiij.). Saul casts his javelin: *C.*; Bearing the Cross: *B.*

Friday, do. Ps. *Exultate Deo* (lxxx.). Michal from the window disdains David: *C.*; Crucifixion between the malefactors.

Saturday, do. Ps. *Cantate Domino* (xcviij.). David plays before the ark: *C.*; the crucifixion, repeated: *B.*

Sunday, Evensong. Ps. *Dixit Dominus* (cix.): the Blessed Trinity, enthroned: *C.*; Arms of the Trinity ("Pater, non est Filius," etc.—"est Deus"): *B.*

Monday, Evensong. Ps. *Dilexi* (cxiv.). Archangels: *B.*

Tuesday, do. Ps. *Letatus sum* (cxxi.). Church militant and triumphant: *B.*

Wednesday, do. Ps. *Nisi Dominus* (cxxvi.). Pentecost: *B.*

Thursday, do. Ps. *Memento, Domine* (cxxxv.). The Scourging: *B.*

Friday, do. Ps. *Confitebor* (cxxxvii.). Crucifix, Mary and John: *B.*

Saturday, do. Ps. *Benedictus Dominus Deus meus* (cxliii.). Tree of Jesse: *B.*

At Compline. Ps. *Cum invocarem* (iv.). Coronation of B.V. Mary: *B.*

Seven penitential psalms. *Domine, ne in furore* (vi.). Bathsheba: *B.*

The Litany (no illustration). To be said (with xv. Songs of Degrees, the "Gradual Psalms") after Terce in Lent on week-days.

Tabula psalterii (index of Psalms): *B.*

Evensong (*Placebo*) and Mattins (*Dirige*) of the Dead. Large woodcut, Les trois vifs et trois morts: *B.* (A favourite, though gruesome, subject, showing the "disappointed" dead, like Hamlet's father, calling the survivors to remember them.) Lauds and Commendation of Souls.

Office of the Blessed Virgin.

Evensong of our Lady in Advent. The Annunciation: *B.*

Evensong of our Lady after Epiphany. The Nativity: *B.*

Mattins, do. The Magi: *B.*

Mattins after Candlemas. The Presentation: *B.*

Appendix of Commemorations of—

All Saints, MS. fifteenth century, St. John's, Camb.,
H. 13.

B.V. Mary, St. Alban's Brev., twelfth century, Brit.
Mus., 2 A. x.; *Maydestone's Tracts*, app. p. 187.

St. Thomas the Martyr: *B.*

*In commemoratione S. Ethelrede V., non M.: Eliensis
diocesis: P.*

Translation of St. Chad (Lichfield): *B.*

Commemoration of St. Chad (Lichfield): *B.*

De Sancto loci (? Syon, Brit. Mus., Reg. 2 A. xiv.;
appendix to *Maydestone's Tracts*, p. 189).

Feast of the "*Yconia*," or miraculous bleeding
Image of the Saviour crucified, desecrated by
Jews at Beirut: *B.* The story is told in Caxton's
Golden Legend, under the feast of the Exaltation
of the Cross, September 14th. *Temple Classics*, v.
p. 131, or in W. Morris' superb edition (t. iii.),
p. 834.

Feast of the Presentation of the B.V. Mary. Wood-
cut: *B.* (observed in the East in thirteenth century,
and at Avignon in 1372, November 21st).

Benedictio Salis et Aque. Benedictio Panis (for
Sundays).

COMMUNE SANCTORUM (servitium proprium non habentium).

Commune Apostolorum, tempore paschali. St. Peter
and the evangelists: *C.* Large woodcut. The Resur-
rection: *B.*

Versus de conclusione Collectarum.

Commune Apostolorum alio tempore. Pentecost: *B.*

Common service for one or more Martyrs, Confessors, Doctors, Bishops, and Virgins (also, in York Use, Matrons).

In *B.* follow *Benedictiones matutinales.*

Tabula de festorum divisione, and *Tabula* of the Pye.

In the *Portiforium* of 1499 some memorial verses are inserted here for the benefit of priests hearing confessions, etc.

Casus reservati Pape: "Per papam: feriens clerum . . . tu relevabis eos."

Casus reservati Episcopo: "Qui facit incestum . . . clerum feriensque."

Conditiones boni sacerdotis: "Sacerdos debet esse almus . . . Verax in predicatione. *Hec ait Bernardus.*" (These are printed in *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, iii., pp. 248-9 n.)

MISCELLANEA, BORROWED FROM THE MISSAL:—

Devota oratio dicenda ante missam. "Deus, qui de indignis": *P.*

Oratio devota de sacramento altaris. "Omnipotens et misericors Deus: ecce accedo": *P.*

Preparatio ad missam. "Volens confiteri," etc. Small Crucifix, Mary, and John: *B.*

Ordinarium Misse. "Veni, Creator," etc. *Oratio* "Deus cui omne cor patet." *Ant.* Introibo, etc. "Kyrie." "Confiteor," etc. "Gloria in excelsis" *cum farsura* "Spiritus, et alme." "Credo in unum," etc. *Prefationes* (proper and common).

Canon Misse. Large Crucifixion: *B.*, with small Crucifix, Mary, and John, introduced in the initial of "Te igitur" (Facsimiles in the Cambridge reprint, ii. p. 489): *B.*

VOTIVE MASSES. *In Commemoratione S. Trinitatis; S. Spiritus; De Cruce; De Quinque Vulneribus.* These have a large woodcut of the "Te Deum," Trinity, and, for the other votive masses, smaller woodcuts repeated: *B.*

Missa quotidiana de B. Maria V. Large woodcut, The Annunciation: *B.*

Missa pro Defunctis. Large woodcut of the Raising of Lazarus: *B.*

Missa unius Apostoli. Large woodcut: *B.*

Plurimorum Martyrum.

De quocunque Confessore.

De S. Rocho. "Congratulamini."

In natali unius Virginis et Martyris: *B.*

In natali unius Matrone: *P.*

De nomine Jesu. The Transfiguration: *B.*

Missa pro febris: *P.* *Pro pestilentia:* *P.*

Missa S. Rochi confessoris. "Letabitur": *P.*

Orationes pro sterilitate femine (ad missam): B.

IV. SANCTORALE, OR PROPRIUM SANCTORUM

Proper services are provided in the Sarum Breviary for about 256 saints'¹ and holy days in this section of the book, not reckoning fifteen occasions grouped round Christmas in the *Temporale*.

We will notice here only those days which are distinguished by a miniature in the Chichele MS. (*C.*), or by a large woodcut in the Great Breviary of 1531 (*B.*).

¹ There are not so many saints' *days* as 256, for we have reckoned, *e.g.*, St. Simon and St. Jude as two, and, *e.g.*, Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulius as three (though the Eleven Thousand Virgins as only one). The *days* (including Christmas-tide) are in Sarum use, about 191; or, reckoning Vigils and Octaves, 223.

November. *Vigilia S. Andree*. His crucifixion: *C.* and *B.*

December. Conception of B. Mary V.: *B.*

February. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple: *C.* and *B.*

March. The Annunciation: *C.* and *B.*

May. St. John Port Latin: *B.* Nativity of St. John Baptist.

June. Preaching in the wilderness: *C.* St. Peter and St. Paul: *C.*

July. Visitation of the Blessed Virgin: *B.*

Feast of Relics. An altar with three relic-cases, frontal blue, powdered with gold stars; linen cloth hangs long to the floor at the ends: *C.*

St. Anne: *B.*

August. Assumption of St. Mary. Enthroned by the Trinity (red seraphs): *C.* Woodcut, *B.*

September. Nativity of B. V. Mary. Jesse Tree: *C.* Woodcut, *B.* Exaltation of the Cross. Crucifixion (repeated, Cambridge *Brev. Sarum*, 1886, iii. 808): *B.*

October. Vigil of All Hallows. A black monk, sleeping, sees a vision of the Saviour surrounded by the Blessed Saints: *C.*

November. All Saints' Day: *B.* All Souls: *B.*

APPENDIX on Pronunciation of the penultima in Latin.

Prologus. "Quamvis ea que de quantitate . . . figure composite."

Accentuarius. "Breves: Syllaba, cacabus, Hiezabel . . . *A suo ut consutum [insutum].*" Memorial lines at the foot of each page of Accentuary:

"Est sodes amābo . . . manducas quando ligūris."

Roman Breviaries, when not contained in a single volume, are divided into four parts—*Pars Hiemalis*, *Pars Verna*, *Pars Estiva*, and *Pars Autumnalis*.

The MS. Breviaries of Sarum (and York or Hereford) Use were usually contained in a single volume (called a “*totum*”), as were the printed folios, and the earliest octavos *cir.* 1475–94. From about 1494–5 onward the *portiforia*, in 8°, 16°, and 4°, were divided into two (never in England into four) volumes, known as *Pars Hiemalis* and *Pars Estivalis*.

In these, two of the main sections (1) the Kalendar, and (2) the Psalter and *Commune*, were identical in both the volumes, or “*partes*,” and therefore were printed for each edition in double quantities, for binding up with a half-year’s *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*. These last were divided thus :—

P. H. = *Pars Hyemalis* : for the *Temporale* from Advent to Whitsuntide, inclusive ; for the *Sanctorale* November 29th to June 18th (Marcus and Marcellian).

P. E. = *Pars Estivalis* : for the *Temporale* from first Evensong of Trinity Sunday to the last week after Trinity, inclusive ; for the *Sanctorale* from St. Dunstan, May 19th, to November 29th.¹

The Breviary of York Use, while it has a different set of saints and Commemorations, and is distinct in the words of the rite and in the rubric or ordinal, yet is akin

¹ The two parts of the *Portos* necessarily overlapped slightly in May and June for thirty-one days, because Trinity Sunday is a movable feast, ranging in date from May 17th (with “first vespers” on May 16th) to June 19th, as it depends upon Easter Day, which may fall on any day from March 22nd to April 25th. And a term of thirty-five days’ or five weeks’ overlapping would have been required, had there been any saint’s day occurring on May 15th to 18th.

to that of Salisbury in its general arrangement and in its main divisions.¹

The *Rubricæ de Dominicis Ordinandis* (Surtees Society's edition, 1880-3), t. i. pp. 552-9, 705-26, and the *Suffragia consueta*, i. 939-44, as well as the *Commune Matronarum*, ii. 76-82, are noticeable York peculiarities.

The Hereford Breviary, shortly to be edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society, is at present only superficially known to us from Dr. Seager's notes to portions of the Sarum Use, so we cannot as yet venture to describe it.

An unfinished edition of the Sarum Breviary appeared in two parts, post 8°, Brussels, 1843, and Treves, 1855, by Dr. Charles Seager, a friend of Cardinal Newman. The whole has been edited in three volumes 8° for the Cambridge University Press, 1879-86, by F. Procter and Chr. Wordsworth, with bibliographical lists by H. Bradshaw and his successor, F. Jenkinson.

The first part of a "noted" Breviary from Cambridge University MS., Mm. 2. 9 (thirteenth century), has been edited in facsimile by W. H. Frere for the Plainsong and Medieval Music Soc. (*Antiphonale*, fasc. i. and ii.), Quaritch, 1901-2.

The York Breviary, by Hon. S. W. Lawley, for the Surtees Society, two volumes 8°, 1880-3.

The Hereford Breviary is in the press for the H. Bradshaw Society, vol. i. being now ready, edited by W. H. Frere and Langton E. G. Browne.

"The Brigittine Breviary of the Nuns of Sion" and "the Monastic Breviary of the Church of Durham" are on the list of the Henry Bradshaw Society. A Scottish Breviary, fifteenth century, has been printed under the title of *Breviarium*

¹ At the York suburb of Layerthorpe (under the Dean and Chapter of York) it was reported at a Visitation in 1472, "Deficit portiforium. Dicunt quod parochia est tam exilis, quod non possunt emere portiphorium," *Fabric Rolls*, p. 254.

Bothanum, 4°, 1900, Longmans, and the *Breviarium Aberdonense* of 1509-10, two volumes 4°, 1854-5, edited by Blew, with a Preface by Dr. D. Laing, Toovey. (W.)

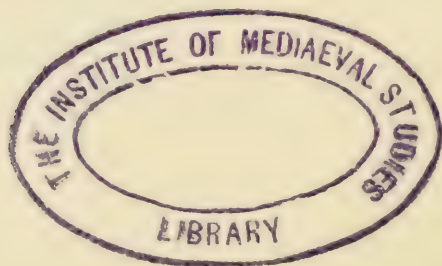
THE DIURNALE, OR JOURNAL

The Diurnale, or Journal, was designed to render yet more compendious the already epitomised Breviary, and to make the Portos yet more portable.

Small Prayer-books, as a rule, are comparatively little cared for, and they are apt to be perishable; and while "journalles" made only one sort among the ten kinds of Latin service-books proscribed by reforming authority, and destined to destruction about Christmas, 1549, it is only due to the accidental preservation of a solitary copy of "*Diurnale Sarum, pro id gesturi commoditate redactum*," printed at Paris, 16°, 1512, for H. Jacob in St. Paul's Churchyard, near "the new [St. Paul's] schools" (founded that year) being preserved at Lambeth (xliii. i. 47), that we know what such a book was like. A chance observation in its Preface tells us that there had been at least two previous editions, the first of which had been in form "rudis et lacera," and had appeared "multis abhinc annis," many years ago. The preservation of a Dutch bookseller's day-book proves that such a book was sold in Oxford in February, 1520, for 1s. 4d.¹ The edition of 1512 was corrected by Master William Cowper. (There was a prebendary of that name at Lincoln in 1512.)

The copy at Lambeth measures only 4 inches by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and contains 312 leaves, of which 231 are numbered. Like the Breviary, it consists of four sections

¹ Oxford Hist. Soc., *Collectanea*, i. p. 87; ii. p. 467.



—(i) *Temporale* (from Advent to Twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity), with anniversary of Dedication of a Church, and Commemorations of St. Thomas (misprinted “*sc'i pauli*”), Chad (for Lichfield), and Etheldreda (for Ely); (ii) *Kalendarium*, with “*Prima dies mensis*,” etc., at top, and “*Aque decens potus*” at bottom of the months, and it has the good rule “*Cum Domino psalles*”; (iii) *Psalterium*, with Seven Penitential Psalms and Litany, and Offices of the Dead, with *Commune Sanctorum*, and the non-Sarum “*commune unius Matrone*” at the end; and (iv) *Proprium de Sanctis*. In part i. fo. 51, *Gratie ante prandium* are printed at Easter.

Although the *Psalterium* provides the psalms, &c., for Nocturns and Compline, the book justifies its title, as a book of “Day Hours” only, in the other sections, for (with the exception of occasional reference to the “Histories” in the rubrics) it passes over the Mattins and Compline services of the day. Still the *Psalterium* would suffice for the recitation of Compline, but the absence of lessons, etc., would make it practically unserviceable for saying the Canonical Mattins of the day, although Mattins of our Lady are to be found “*ante Psalterium*” for use between Lauds and Prime of the day.

As a priest was required to say at least Mattins before he said Mass, and the parish priest was required to have said Mattins with Lauds, Prime and Terce, before he celebrated, while the Synods of Worcester (1240) and Norwich (1257) forbade anyone saying Mass in a church before the service of (at earliest) Lauds had been canonically performed,¹ we may infer that the parish priest who owned a “Journal” would say his Mattins in the church,

¹ See Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy* (ed. 3), pp. 222-4.

where his Breviary and Missal lay, before his Mass, and that, after that, he could use his handy little *Diurnale* for Sext, Nones, Evensong, and Compline, wherever he might chance to be at his usual times of prayer. He might also find it useful for Lauds, Prime and Terce, and even for portions of his Mattins, if he was sharing the use of Breviary or *Legenda* with another.

The counterpart to this "Journal" was the "*Liber matutinalis*." At the altar of St. Thomas, M., in Salisbury Cathedral in 1389 was "vnus liber siue (?sine) legenda, cathenatus" (*Salisbury Ceremonies*, p. 299).

The *Diurnale* is not a common book in MS. At the Cambridge University Library, Kk. vi. 45. is said to be a fifteenth-century MS. of small duodecimo size, containing 147 leaves with 26 lines on a page. It is of English (though not of Sarum) Use. The *Temporale* is followed by services *de Sanctorali*, apparently from 6th December to St. Birinus in the following December; a saint commemorated in Hereford, Lincoln, Winchester, and St. Alban's Uses. Then follow the *Dedicatio Ecclesie* and the *Commune Sanctorum*.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford, *Gough Liturg.* 17, is a book of Benedictine Day Hours, of 285 leaves, measuring 190 × 16 millimetres, written early in the sixteenth century, from Peterborough. It contains *Temporale*, *Kalendarium*, *Sanctorale*, Commemorations, Psalter, and *Commune Sanctorum*. The service of Lauds is omitted (W. H. Frere, *Biblioth. Musico-Lit.*, i. p. 42). Of twenty-three Psalters which were in the *libraria interior* of Durham monastery in 1391, three are described as "*cum Diurnali*," one being *Psalterium, cum Canone Misse, Ympnari, et Canticis, et Diurnali*"

(Catalogi Vett. *Surtees*, vii. p. 38). J. H. Hill's *Hist. of Market Harborough*, 4°, 1875, p. 56, mentions a MS. *Diurnale* in the possession of F. C. F. Turville, Esq., at Husbands Bosworth Hall.

A *Diurnale* of York Use is described in Dr. M. R. James's Catalogue of *Jesus College, Cambridge, MSS.*, No. 77 (Q. G. 30), written on 238 leaves, 22 lines to a page, on paper 4×3 in., late in the fifteenth century. It is bound in white skin over boards, the flap running round it, with bronze clasp. It contains *Temporale*, *Sanctorale*, *Commune Sanctorum*, Evensong Psalms, and Office of the Dead.

There is a monastic (York) *Diurnale* of earlier date, thirteenth to fourteenth century, from a house of Austin canons (perhaps Carlisle), in the library of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, MS. 62 (Δ. 3. 17). It consists of 210 leaves of vellum, 3×2 inches, 20 lines to a page, and contains (says Dr. James) Kalendar, Psalms of Evensong (giving only half of each verse), with Psalm xxi. (Deus, Deus) and Litany; *Temporale* (*P. H.*), *Sanctorale* (per annum), *Commune*; Offices of St. Cuthbert, and Corpus Christi (a festival adopted in England, at least at Wells, in 1318). After three or four blank leaves, follow Collects of Saints from St. Silvester (31st December) to Damasus (11th December in Lincoln Use, etc.), apparently for the whole year. And a later office in memory of Archbishop Scrope, beheaded in 1405.

For an account of *Diurnale Sarum* see the Cambridge edition of the Sarum Breviary, iii. pp. lvi., lvii., by C. Wordsworth.

(W.)

ANTIPHONER

With the ANTIPHONALE we come now to one of the several books from which the Breviary was epitomised.

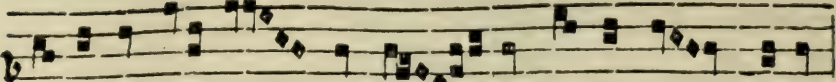
The Antiphoner provides the music for the Canonical Hours, as the Grail does for the Liturgy of the Mass.

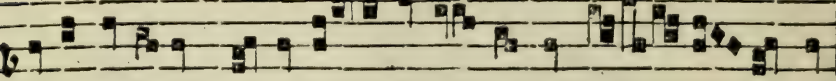
So far as it was a music-book, its description falls beyond our province and our powers.

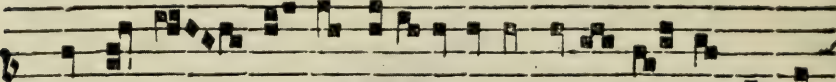
A facsimile of a Sarum MS. Antiphoner of the first part of the thirteenth century is in course of production, under Mr. Frere's editorship, for the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society. Its purpose was to provide the words and music of those antiphons which imparted to the course of the psalms a special flavour, recalling the season, or the solemnity proper to the service of the day, or emphasising the salient features of the psalms themselves.¹ In early times the antiphon permeated the entire psalmody, recurring again and again as a sort of chorus, or burden, between the several verses or paragraphs of the psalm, as may be still heard in the variable antiphonal invitatory which runs through the course of *Venite*, which is the invitatory psalm introducing the Mattins Nocturns. But by the medieval times, with which we have here to do, the antiphon was sung only at the end of *Gloria Patri*, which concluded each psalm, or group of psalms, or each canticle drawn from the Old Testament, or from the Gospel of the Incarnation according to St. Luke. The *Cantor*, moreover, still announced it, by intoning the first phrase of it (or, on festal days of double rank, the whole antiphon) before the opening of the psalm itself.

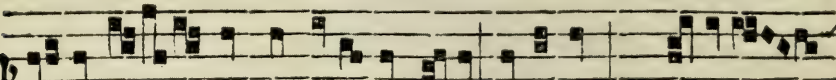
¹ Responds were added ; then hymns, etc.


Dñica in sexagesima. Fo. cxxxviij.

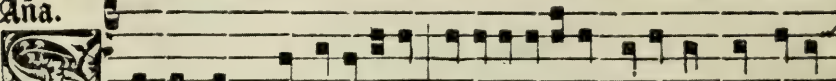


q̃ ultra male dī cam ter re propter ho minem.




Ad ymaginem quippe de i fa ctus est ho mo.



v. Hoc e rit signum fede ris inter me et ter ram: archum

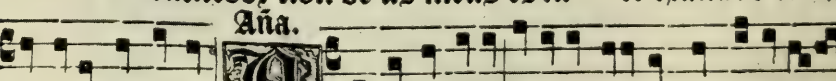


meum po nam in nubibus ce li. Ad yma. v. Glo ri a

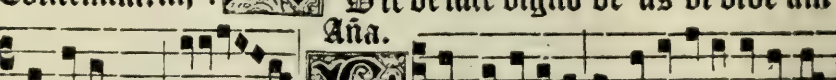


patri et fi li o: et spiri tui san cto. Ad. C In laud.


Añā. cundum multitudinē miserationum tuarum domine:


dele iniquitatem meam. ps. Misere. eus meus es


tu et confitebor tibi: de us meus es tu et exaltabo te. vs.


Añā. onfitemini. iij°. De te de luce vigilo de us vt vide am


Añā. irtutē tuā. ps. De° de° ymnū dicite et superexaltate eum

S. ij.

Sometimes such music was incorporated with the words in the more costly and elaborate MS. Breviaries; but music is apt to linger on in manuscript, as it is expensive and troublesome to put into type; and thus there does not appear to have ever been more than a single edition printed of any Antiphoner of English Use. This was the "*Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum politissimis imaginibus decoratum*," which appeared in two noble folio volumes (answering respectively to the *Pars Hyemalis* and the *Pars Estivalis* of the *Portiforium*) printed at Paris, some copies being impressed on vellum, in 1519 and 1520. About three copies of each part survive. It contains four sections like the Breviary: (1) *Temporale*, with *Dedicacio Ecclesie*, seven "toni" and *Benedictiones*, and tunes for "*Benedicamus*"; (2) *Kalendarium*;¹ (3) *Psalterium*, with *Litania major* and *Vigilie Mortuorum*. To it is prefixed a Preface by Brian Row, an Etonian, born at Macclesfield, who passed on to King's College, Cambridge, in 1499. As a B.D. he disputed in theology before King Henry VII. at Cambridge. He gives the credit of correcting the Sarum Antiphoner to Dr. [John] Sampson, Vice-Provost of his college, who died at Cambridge early in 1519, just after accepting the vicarage of Ringwood. To the Psalter is appended the *Vigilie Mortuorum*; and the *Commune Sanctorum* (with *Antiphone de B. Maria*) follows; then section 4, *Proprium Sanctorum*, to which in *P. E.* are appended certain services called "*Synodalia et provincialia Norwicensis diocesis*," in honour of SS. David, Chad, and Felix, and the "translation" of SS. Edmund,

¹ Besides the ordinary Sarum saints, SS. Ermenildis and Withburga appear in the Kalendar of the Antiphoner, 1519-20.

K.M., John of Beverley, Dominic, and Francis. The *P. H.* contains 494 leaves, and the *P. E.* 499. The Great Antiphoner of 1519-20, together with the Great *Legenda* of 1518, would practically make up a "Breviary noted."¹

The Great Antiphoner of 1519-20 has the three-tier title-page of the patrons of Cologne, the "Three Kings of Colen," in adoration at Epiphany, St. Ursula holding an arrow and sheltering sundry of her eleven thousand companions under her cloak, and the passion of the Maccabean mother and her seven sons, with the arms of the city and another heraldic device.

The chief woodcuts in the *Pars Estivalis* are the *Te Deum* picture of "One Church, above, beneath," for Trinity Sunday (as noticed in the Great Breviary), the Visitation, the Assumption; and for the Nativity of our Lady, the Jesse tree. All Hallows are represented in four compartments: this woodcut reappears in the *Commune*. For All Souls, the "*vifs et morts*" (see p. 93). For the first letter of *Beatus vir* in the Psalter, King David; for St. Peter's chains, St. Peter, in initial "S." The Feast of the Holy Name has a small woodcut of the Holy Child holding a mound, or orb with the cross, in company with the dove, a picture which reappears in Primers and in other service-books of the fifteenth century.

A fourteenth-century MS. Sarum Antiphoner in Cambridge University Library (Mm. ii. 9) contains (after *Temporale*, *Sanctorale*, and *Commune*) a list of *Cantus* for saints' days, and a *hymnary*, with a later supplement of hymns in honour of St. Mary Magdalen. The scribe records his Christian name thus: "Si queratur nomen

¹ An "Antiphonar with a legend" is mentioned in an early sixteenth-century will (Somerset House Wills, Fetiplace, 26, fo. 7a).

scriptoris, *Willelmus ei detur.*" And another has written, in the *Sanctorale*, at fo. 155^b, "*Amen, quod*" [*i.e.* quoth] "*Ludlou scholasticus Cantabrigie.*"

MS. 160 at Worcester Cathedral Library contains, together with a Grail, Psalter, and *Venitare*, a complete English monastic Antiphoner of the thirteenth century.

For an account of the Sarum *Antiphonale* see the Cambridge Sarum Breviary, iii. pp. liii.-lv., by C. Wordsworth.

A facsimile edition of the thirteenth-century Cambridge University MS., Mm. 2. 9, is in progress (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society). Quaritch. (W.)

THE VENITARE

Among the ornaments and other necessities for a parish church in 1287, at the Synod of Exeter, Bishop Peter Quivil, or Wyville, mentioned "Antiphonale, Psalteria, Ordinale, Venitare, Ympnare, Collectare" (Spelman, *Concilia*, ii. 363).

The *Venitare* was a music-book to serve for the Invitations at the beginning of Mattins. We find a few instances of a *Venitare* occurring as one section of a larger book, *e.g.* in the fourteenth-century Bedwin Breviary (diocese of Sarum), now at Oxford, Bodl. E. Musæo, 2 (3491), where it occupies the last leaves (pp. 987-1001).¹

At the church of St. Faith in the crypt of St. Paul's, London, there was, in 1298, "Unum Venitare cum legenda S. Fidis, et ympnarium," beginning "Incipit

¹ Mr. Frere mentions also a Benedictine Psalter and Hymnal of 1534 from Nereshain, Bodl. Misc. Liturg., 403, as containing Invitations *without music*; also a twelfth-century Antiphonal, perhaps from Würzburg, with *Venitare* between the Antiphonal and the Hymnal, Bodl. Laud. Misc., 284.

passio S. Fidis," and ending "Exultent in Domino. Alleluia" (Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, ed. 1818, p. 336).

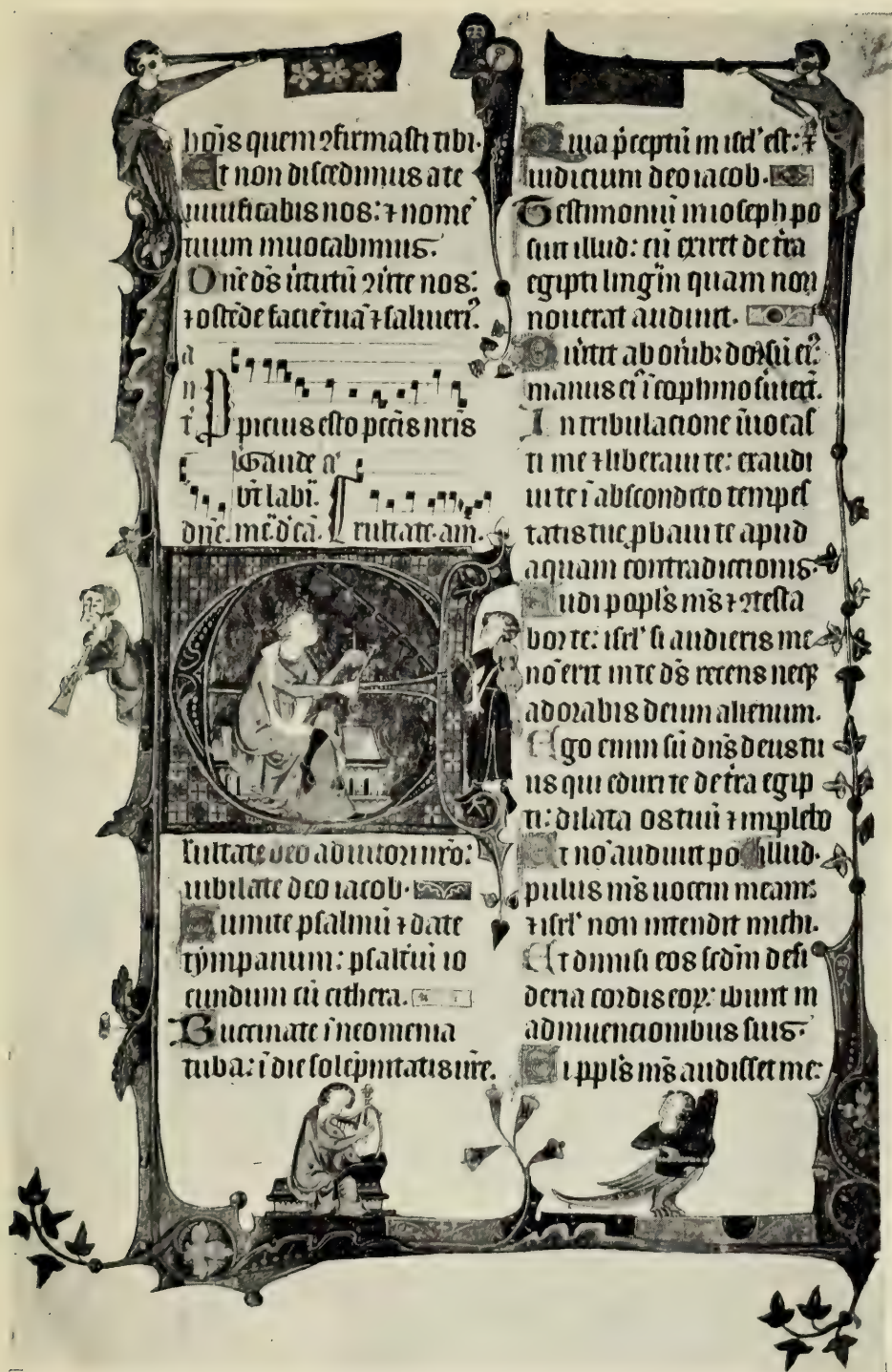
At St. John's in Hundegate, York, there was "unus liber pro *Venite*" in 1519 (*Fabric Rolls*, p. 269).

The fine music-book at St. John's College, Cambridge, consists of 87 leaves, measuring $27\frac{1}{2}$ by 18 in., is mentioned by Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* (1882), i. pp. ciii., civ. *n.* It has something the character of an Antiphoner, but may perhaps have been called a *Venitare*. The cover measures 31×20 inches. Dr. Swete has given a reduced facsimile of a choir music-book of nearly the same size (*Services and Service-books*, p. 52). The writing in some of these enormous books seems to have been done with a brush. See Dr. M. R. James's Catalogue of the King's College MSS. (No. 41), p. 68, describing the fifteenth-century Psalter brought from Cadiz, on vellum, measuring $31\frac{5}{8} \times 21$ inches, 12 lines to a page, the ordinary letters measuring $1\frac{1}{8} \times 1$ or more, the large letters $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches square.

At St. Bartholomew's Chapel, Arborfield, a Sarum "peculiar," in 1220, was a Capitulare, Collectare, Hymnary, and small *Venitare*, with tunes to *Venite*, all in one small volume (*Osmund Reg.*, i. 283). The *Venitare* has not been printed. (W.)

THE PSALTER

Psalters are of two kinds, liturgical and non-liturgical. The non-liturgical Psalters have the psalms following each other with little or no other matter intervening. The liturgical Psalters are those which are arranged as service-books, certain psalms being followed by one or more antiphons, etc.



A PAGE OF A FOURTEENTH CENTURY PSALTER (LITURGICAL)
 AT LANDS ON SUNDAYS

Brit. Mus. MS. A. 1. 5, fol. 55b

In addition to the psalms, the Psalter generally contains a Calendar, the canticles, Athanasian Creed,¹ and Litany, and after the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Office for the Dead is also frequently added. All of the above, however, are not always present, and other matter is often found; but the foregoing list may be considered generally to represent the main contents of a medieval Psalter.

An interesting comparison may be made between the tenth-century Psalter, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 2,904, and the printed Psalter of 1524.

Both books contain, after the psalms, the same canticles (arranged, with one exception, in the same order), the Athanasian Creed, and Litany. The additional matter beyond these is, as would be expected, greater in the printed book than in the MS.

THE CANTICLES OF THE PSALTER.

	SCRIPTURE.	SERVICE.
Confitebor tibi . . .	Isaiah xii. 1-6 . . .	Lauds, Monday.
Ego dixi . . .	Isaiah xxxviii. 10-20 . . .	Lauds, Tuesday.
Exultavit . . .	1 Samuel ii. 1-10 . . .	Lauds, Wednesday.
Cantemus domino . . .	Exodus xv. 1-19 . . .	Lauds, Thursday.
Domine, audiui . . .	Habakkuk iii. 2-19 . . .	Lauds, Friday.
Audite, celi . . .	Deuteronomy xxxii. 1-43 . . .	Lauds, Saturday.
Benedicite, omnia opera . . .	Daniel iii.	Lauds, Sunday.
Benedictus dominus . . .	St. Luke i. 68-79 . . .	Lauds (daily).
Magnificat . . .	St. Luke i. 46-55 . . .	Evensong „
Nunc dimittis . . .	St. Luke ii. 29-32 . . .	Compline „
Te Deum ² . . .	— (festal) . . .	Mattins „
Quicumque vult . . .	— . . .	Prime „

¹ The "Hymn," or "Psalm," *Quicumque vult*, though sometimes also called "Symbolum," is treated as a *canticle*, being fitted (like the rest) with variable *antiphonæ*. It did not take the place of the Apostles' Creed, and in the English Church it was in constant use.

² In the Roman Breviary *Te Deum* is treated as a Response to the last lesson at Mattins, but in the English uses it holds a more independent position.

Psalters sometimes have hymns appended to them, as in the seventh-century MS., Brit. Mus., Vesp., A. I.; the thirteenth-century MS., Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,888; and the printed Psalter of 1524.

Medieval Psalters are divided into eight sections, the divisions being distinguished by the initial letters of each section being larger and more elaborate than the initial letters of other psalms. This distinction is, however, not so clearly exhibited before the twelfth century as after it.

The first section of the psalms was used on Sunday, the next six sections on the succeeding days of the week respectively, the last section being spread over all the days of the week, for evensong.

THE EIGHT SECTIONS OF THE PSALTER.

- | | | |
|--|-------|-----------------------|
| 1. Psalm i.-xxvi., ¹ <i>Beatus vir</i> | . . . | On Sundays. |
| 2. Psalm xxvii.-xxxviii., <i>Dominus illuminatio</i> | | On Mondays. |
| 3. Psalm xxxix.-lii., <i>Dixi, Custodiam</i> | . . . | On Tuesdays. |
| 4. Psalm liii.-lxviii., <i>Dixit insipiens</i> | . . . | On Wednesdays. |
| 5. Psalm lxix.-lxxx., <i>Salvum me fac</i> | . . . | On Thursdays. |
| 6. Psalm lxxxi.-xcvii., <i>Exultate Deo</i> | . . . | On Fridays. |
| 7. Psalm xcvi.-cix., <i>Cantate Domino.</i> | . . . | On Saturdays. |
| 8. Psalm cx.-cl., <i>Dixit Dominus</i> | . . . | Spread over the week. |

It is to be noted that the initial letters of the two psalms *Quid gloriaris* (lii.) and *Domine exaudi* (cii.) are in some Psalters distinguished by being somewhat larger than the initial letters of the ordinary psalms. Sometimes these initials are treated as of equal importance to those marking the main divisions; sometimes they are larger and finer than many which open the main divisions. Such is the case in the twelfth-century MS., Brit. Mus., Ar., 230. In the eleventh-century MS., Brit. Mus., Ar., 60, the initial letters of these two psalms far surpass in importance

¹ The numbering of the psalms here given is that of the Book of Common Prayer. The opening phrase of each section, too, is given.

Gloria in excelsis deo
 dno canticum nouum
 quia mirabilia fecit dñs
 Saluauit eum dextera eius
 et brachium scdm eius
 Notum fecit dñs salutare suum
 ante conspectu gentium reuelauit
 titulum suum
 Memorauit misericordiae suae iacob
 et ueritatis suae domus israel
 Viderunt omnes fines terrae salutare dñi
 iubilare deo omni terra
 cantate et exultate et psallite
 Psallite deo nostro incithara incithara
 et uoce psalmi in tubis ductilibus
 et uoce tubae corneae
 iubilare in conspectu regis dñi
 Moueatur mare et plenitudo eius
 orbis terrarum et uniuersi qui habitant
 in eis

A PAGE OF A SEVENTH CENTURY PSALTER.

The first eight verses of Psalm xcvi. From the Brit. Mus. MS. Vesp. A. 1. The English translation, in smaller characters above the Latin, may be compared with later versions.

all other initials but that at the commencement of the Psalter. According to the medieval numbering of the psalms the two in question would be respectively li. and ci., when they would thus divide the Psalter into three equal parts. The Psalter attached to the Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 3,000, has the eight sections especially clearly defined, each section having a picture at the top of a fresh page, and each section being defined as "*primum nocturnum*," "*secundum nocturnum*," and so on.

What Cranmer says, in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, about the ancient division of the Psalter into "seven porcions: wherof every one was called a nocturne," applies strictly to our sections 1-7 only (as section 8 contains the psalms of Evensong, not of mattins or its nocturns). The general purport of his criticism was no doubt well founded.

About the commencement of the thirteenth century the Office for the Dead (which is quite different from the Burial Service) becomes appended to the Psalter as in the Museum MSS. 2. A. XXII., Lansd., 431, and Ar., 157, all of this period.

The Commendations (*Commendatio animarum*) rarely appear in the Psalter, and are only noticed here because, from the fact that they appear in the Prymer after the Office for the Dead, it would reasonably be expected that they should also be often found in the same place in the Psalter.

The "Commendations" of the Psalter are of two kinds, the one consisting mainly of prayers, the other mainly of Psalm cxix., *Beati immaculati*. The latter class is that which forms part of the Prymer, and is far the more frequently met with.

The former class is met with first, and is found in the early thirteenth-century Psalter, Brit. Mus. MS., Lansd., 431, with the heading, "*Incipit commendatio animarum.*" The Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 960, of the early part of the fifteenth century, also contains this Office. The Commendations of the second kind are not met with in the Psalter till about the middle of the fifteenth century, as in the Museum MSS., 2. B. XIV., and Harl., 1,025.

Sometimes the non-liturgical Psalter has the psalms divided by prayers, the prayers not dividing the sections but each psalm being followed by a prayer. Such is the case in the Museum MSS., Stowe 2, and Tib. C. VI., both of the eleventh century.

The Psalter arranged liturgically with antiphons, etc., is not met with until about the year 1300. The Brit. Mus. MS., 27,866, of about that date, is amongst the earliest of the class; and the Museum MSS., Harl., 2,888, and Ar., 83, both also liturgical, are very little later in date.

Sometimes a non-liturgical Psalter has the antiphons, etc., added many years after the book has been written originally. The Brit. Mus. MS., Stowe 2, of the eleventh century, is an example where these additions are written in a handwriting of the fifteenth century in the margins.

The antiphons will not be found to agree in every Psalter.

Music makes its first appearance as part of the book in the late thirteenth-century MS., Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,856, where it is found in the Office for the Dead.

In MS., Brit. Mus., 27,866, one of the earliest liturgical Psalters, dating about 1300, music is appended to the antiphons of the Psalter, as well as in the Office for the

BEATUS VIR QVI

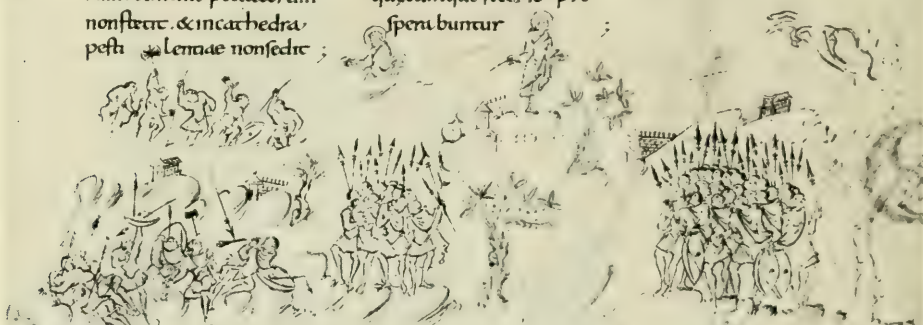
NON HABIT IN CONSILIO IMPIO-
rum. & in iniqua peccatorum
non stetit. & in cathedra
pestis & leprose non sedet

Sed in lege dñi sunt voluntas
eius. & in lege eius medita-
bitur die ac nocte

Et erit tamquam lignum
quod plantatum ē. secus
decursus aquarum
Quod fructum suum dabit
in tempore suo. & folium
eius non decidet. & omnia
quęcumque fecerit pro-
spiciuntur

Non sic impii non sic. sed tam-
quam pulvis quem proicit
uentus a facie terrę

In deo non tribuuntur impii
in iudicio. neque pecca-
tores in consilio iustorum
in nouit dñs uia iustorum.
& iter impiorum per-
ibit



PSALMVS DAVID
QUARE FREQUERUNT
gentes. & populi medi-
tati sunt inania
Adstiterunt reges terrę. &
principes conuenerunt
in unum. aduersus dñm
& aduersus xpm eius
Dirumpamus uincula eorū.

& proiciamus a nobis iugu
ipsorum
Qui habitat in caelis irri-
debit eos. & dñs sub funa
bit eos
Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira
sua. & in furore suo contur-
babit eos
Ego autem construxi sum

rex abeo. super montem
scm eius. predicans pro-
ceptum dñi
Dñs dixit ad me filius meus
est. ego hodie genuite
Postula a me & dabo tibi
gentes hereditatem tuam.
& possessionem tuam ter-
minos terrę

A PAGE OF AN ELEVENTH CENTURY PSALTER, SHOWING THE
RARE FEATURE OF THE TEXT IN THREE COLUMNS

PSALMS 1-11

Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. Cg. 5641 2

Dead; so, too, in the Museum MSS., Harl., 2,888, and Ar., 83, both of which Psalters date about 1310.

Music is never attached to the psalms, nor at all times to the antiphons, etc., or to the Office for the Dead, as, for instance, MS., Brit. Mus., 2. B. VIII., which has no music to either or in any part of the book.

Early Psalters have often an interesting translation of the Latin into English, as an interlinear gloss. The facsimile of a page of a Psalter showing such an arrangement will be found in this volume.

In the fifteenth-century Psalters the last two psalms often run on, without being marked as separate from the preceding (Ps. cxlviii.), but this feature occurs at other periods.

The Psalter was frequently used as a book of private devotions, and probably was also often taken to church. Sometimes it is added to the Prymer, as in the Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 3,000.

About the thirteenth century the Psalter was often richly ornamented, but such is not so often the case either before or after that period.

Amongst medieval Psalters the following merit especial attention.

Brit. Mus. MS., Vesp., A. I, is of the seventh century, and is probably the oldest English Psalter in existence. This book is about ten inches high, is in excellent condition, well written, and (as is customary with Psalters of the earlier period) contains an interlinear English translation, each English word being placed above the Latin. After the psalms follow the canticles and three hymns. The first page of the Psalter is lost. The Psalter is

divided into the usual eight sections and one besides, the eighteenth psalm, *Diligam te*, commencing another section. (See Plate.)

The Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 603, is a very large and early Psalter. It is of the eleventh century, and is full of curious pictures. The book is about eighteen inches high and unusually wide, with the text written in three columns, a most unusual feature. (See Plate.)

The Meopham Psalter, in the library of Sion College, London, is an exceedingly fine MS., dating, according to the case label, about 1270. It is in very fine preservation and beautifully written, with very ample margins, the leaves being about fifteen inches high. Some of the initial letters of the psalms are very curious. From them it may be gathered that the larger letters marking the divisions of the Psalter must have been of remarkable beauty; all these have, however, been excised. The Psalter is non-liturgical. On the flyleaf is the inscription:—“*Psalterium pulcherimum domini S. de Mepham, Archiepiscopi.*” Simon of Meopham was Archbishop of Canterbury, 1328–33.

The Bodleian MS. Douce 366 is a very similar Psalter. This book, formerly belonging to Norwich Cathedral, retains the fine initials at the beginning of the various sections. It is remarkable for its binding, the leather covers projecting far beyond the edges in large, soft, white flaps. It is a magnificent book and non-liturgical.

The Brit. Mus. MS., 28,681, of the thirteenth century, has very curious grotesques in the margins, as at lf. 116b. At lf. 9 is a map of the world.

The Brit. Mus., Harl., 1770, of the fourteenth century, has on the flyleaf, “*Liber monasterii de Kirkham.*” This

fornyed and ye wold þou art god þan þe wold vn
 to þe wold wyþ outen ende. **Q**ue auertat hoīem tñm
 mīltatē & dīxīstī cōmīttīmī filīi homī. **W**he the þou
 nougt mīttmīdnes and þou seīdest ȝe chīldē of men
 tīnūy þou. **Q**uonīa nūlle aūm dīat aūtē oēdēs tūos
 tanguā dīes bestīa q̄ p̄cedat. **E**ffoz a rēfand ȝe ȝe
 ben to fore yīn ȝen as wīdāi yāt ȝe passēd. **E**t aūtē
 dīa mīuātē q̄ p̄ mīfīlō hīc aūm ȝe ȝe. **Q**uand þe
 kēpīngt ouȝt yāt for nougt ben had shūl be hē ȝe
 ȝe. **Q**uāe dīat bestīa tūfāt māue p̄cedat & tīan
 p̄cedat neceȝe dēadāt mīdmet & mēstat. **E**passo þe as
 ȝeīse mīe mōrīngt p̄cedat hē wīe mōrīngt and
 passō fallē hē at hēne and hāiden and wāy hē dīe.
Quā dēfāmī mīa tñā & mīfīlō. **Q**uonīa tūfāt
 dīmī. **E**ffoz wē fales mīyīn ȝe and wē ben dēfīndēd
 mīyīn vengeānce. **Q**ostīfīa mīqūatīes nōstīas mīcōn
 p̄cedat tūo dēulūm nōstīnū est mīfīlō mīfīlō
 tū. **Q**on laudēt dīy wīkēdnesse mīyī dīat oīr lōd
 wōlde ȝe mī līyīng of yī ȝe. **Q**uonīa omīes dī
 nōstī dēfātūm tū mīa tñā dēfāmō. **E**ffoz allē om
 dāies fales dēu and wē fales mīyīn yīe. **H**īm mī
 dīat māuea mēdītabīlī dīes ānōȝ nōstīes mīp̄
 dēptīnāgīta aūm. **E**ffoz ȝe dīat p̄cedat ȝe
 lōb ȝe dāies of omī ȝeīes mīe dēuē ȝeīe. **S**ī aūtē
 mīp̄cedatībīn oīcīnāta aūm tāmīplīus ȝeīe lōb
 & dōlōr. **E**ffoz ȝeīe ȝeīe ȝeīe ȝeīe ȝeīe mīe mīe
 oīr hēn dīat hēn tīanīal and dōlōr. **Q**uonīa dīp
 uent māfīctīdō & cōmīpīent. **E**ffoz mīdnes cōī
 on and wē shūl be vīrīuēn. **Q**uī nōnt p̄cedat
 tēn ȝe tñā p̄cedat tūo nām tñā dīuīdīe.

A PAGE FROM A FOURTEENTH CENTURY PSALTER

PS. XC. (LXXXIX VULG.) VERSES 2-11: LATIN AND ENGLISH ALTERNATELY

Brit. Mus. MS. 17,376, fol. 8r

Psalter has a parallel French translation, and concludes with a rhyming version of the psalms in English.

The Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 5,309, is exceedingly small, being indeed less than three inches high. It is very closely written.

The Brit. Mus. MS., 2. B. VII., is very profusely ornamented.

The Brit. Mus. MS., 27,866, has on lf. 131 the ungrammatical inscription, "*Iste liber constat domine Johanna Stretford, monasterii werwellensis sancti cruce.*"

The Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 1,025, has, near the end of the book, on lf. 186, in a later hand:—

"This the rule of the iii Gyldyne fridaies ; þe ffirst is þe last
friday in March, þe Secunde is þe last friday in Jwnne,
þe Thride is þe last friday in november ; who so fasteth
thes iii ffridays truly he schal never com in helle."

MSS. 17,376 and Harl., 1,896, both in the British Museum, have the Latin followed by an English translation verse by verse. (See Plate.)

The Brit. Mus. MS., 2. B. VIII., has specially ample calendar tables.

The Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 2,885, is a Psalter of the use of Canterbury or York.

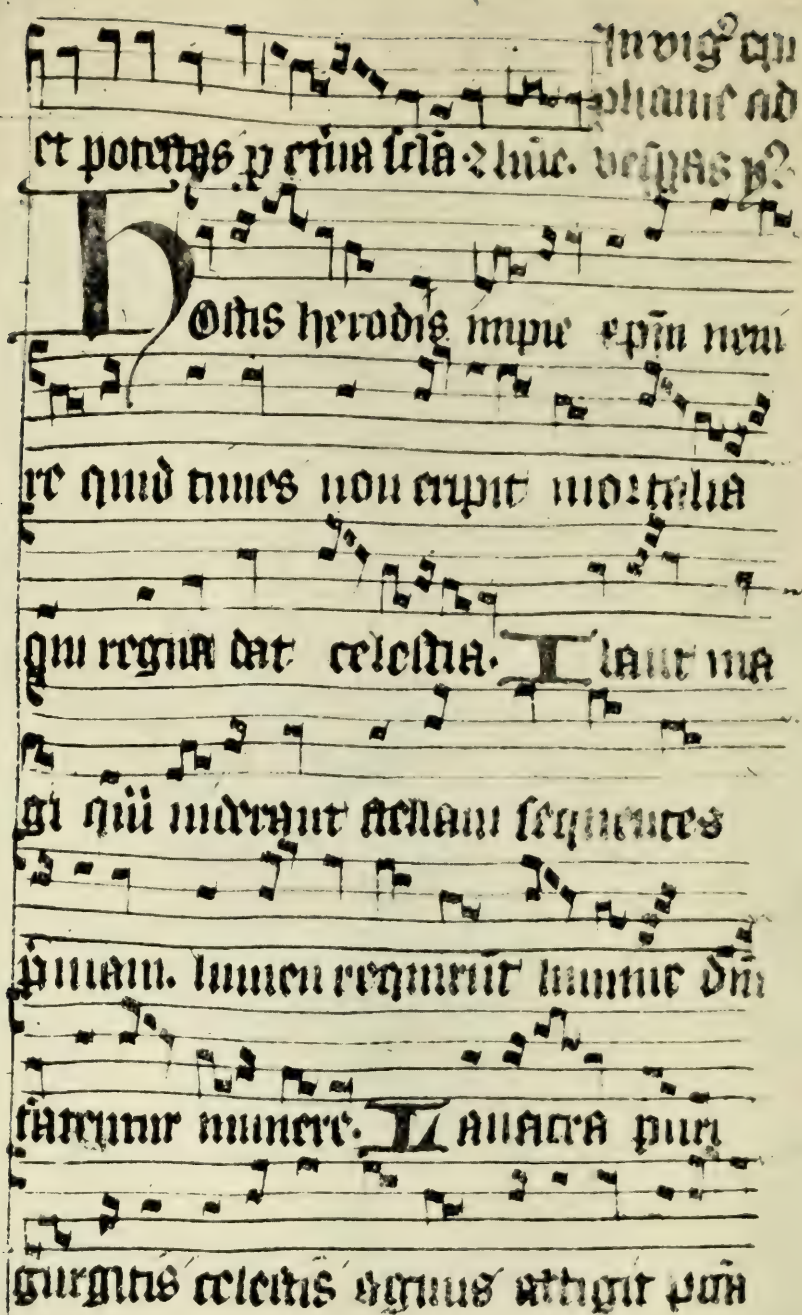
A Psalter in private hands, "the Luttrell Psalter," at Lulworth Castle, Dorset, is noted for its remarkable illustrations of English domestic life, pastimes, chivalry, etc., *cir.* 1319-40. It has obits. added, *cir.* 1372-1409. (See *Archæol. Lond.*, 1839.)

The seventh-century Psalter with its English rendering has been printed by the Early English Text Society, under the editorship of Mr. Sweet, in the volume, *The*

Oldest English Texts. The same Society has also printed two other Psalters, one of them having an English inter-linear translation, and dating about 1150. (L.)

THE TONALE

Mr. Frere, who has edited the TONALE from the late fourteenth-century MS. at Salisbury, Cod. 175 (*Use of Sarum*, ii. pp. j-lxxix), has defined the thirteenth-century "*tonale secundum vsum Sarum et universalis ecclesie*" as "a systematic classification of the antiphons of Divine Service and of the tones and endings which are to be used with them, the tone in each case being naturally that tone which belongs to the mode to which the antiphon is assigned. . . . The antiphons were classified according to the openings, and such a tone-ending as would be most suitable (leading naturally into the opening notes of the antiphon) was assigned to them" (*ibid.*, Introd., p. xxxiii). There is another MS. of the same date and character (*i.e.* Ordinal, Customary and Tonal) at Corpus, Oxon., MS. 44, pp. 194-212, and a Tonal written *cir.* 1450 is in the British Museum, Arundel MS. 130. The opening sentence begins: "Primus (Grece *prothus*) tonus in de[la]solre finitur, habens eleuacionem a sua finali littera usque ad delasolre, id est viii. vocem, et aliquando [ad] ix., id est elami acutam, et aliquando ad x., id est efaut acutam, auctoritate psalmiste, qui ait, In psalterio decachordo psallite illi" [Ps. xxxii. 2], etc. The book goes through the eight tones in order, with their "*differencie*," for psalms, *Venite*, canticles, *Versus responsoriorum*, Nicene Creed, Genealogy, with neumes, *antiphone ad officium misse* (introit), responds, and an appendix of *differencie*.



A PAGE OF A FIFTEENTH CENTURY HYMNAL

HYMN FOR EPIPHANY EVE

Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2951, fol. 5

The Consuetudinary of 1288, from Oseney Abbey, (Bodl. MS., Rawl., C. 939) has a tonal of eleven pages. A MS. from Rievaulx, cents. xii., xiii., at Jesus Coll., Cambridge, MS. 34 (Q. B. 17), has a short treatise in a small handwriting appended to Bernardi *antiphonarium, sive liber de musica*, on f. 116^{a, b}, which begins, "Quid est tonale? *Magister*. Regula naturam et formam cantuum regularium determinans."

At the visitation of York Minster in 1409 it was reported that "two books, called *tonarii*, were very necessary for the choir, one for the Dean's side, the other for the Treasurer's, because the lack of such books commonly spread ('*disseminant*') unseemly discord among the singers in intoning the psalms" (*Fabric Rolls*, p. 246). In 1375 it had been reported that "Ordinale est omnino insufficiens, et libri in notis et tonis discordant" (*ibid.*, p. 243). Similarly at Lincoln, in 1437, the bishop's commissary was told that the books in the quire, those in the lady chapel, and those in "le *pele*" chapel, "in cantu maxime discordant" (*Statuta*, iii. 404).

"*Tonale secundum usum Sarum et universalis Ecclesie*," with music, occupies pp. j-lxxix of W. H. Frere's *Use of Sarum*, fasc. ii., 8°, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1901. (W.)

THE HYMNAL

For the several centuries preceding that of the Norman Conquest the hymns were to be found in various service-books. With the eleventh century, however, Hymn-books proper became more or less common, and of this period several remain.

In the common medieval Hymnal the hymns are

arranged for the different seasons and occasions of the ecclesiastical year, commencing with the Advent hymn, *Conditor alme syderum*. A rubric at the beginning of each hymn describes exactly the occasion for its use. The following extract, giving the rubric and commencement of the hymn, will afford an example of the plan of the book. The rubric commences:—

“In vigilia sancte trinitatis ad primas vespas dicitur hic Hymnus.”

Then follows at once the hymn with its music:—

“Adesto, sancta trinitas,” etc.

The medieval Hymn-book was apparently never a large volume, neither did it contain any but the most ordinary ornamentation.

The Hymn-book, from the great quantity of musical notation on its pages, may at a first glance be taken for a Processional, but the briefest examination will show the two books to be quite distinct. The rubrics of the Processional are often of some length, going into detail as to occasion, place, and manner; the rubrics of the Hymn-book are of the briefest, and practically indicate the occasion alone. The Processional, too, contains rather less musical notation, a page at times containing little or no music; in the Hymn-book every page is full of musical notation.

The following is a brief description of three Hymn-books, respectively of the eleventh, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries:—

The first and earliest of these books, Brit. Mus. MS., Julius, A. VI., is a small volume of the eleventh century,

and some eight or nine inches high. The hymns are in Latin, well written, and, as is often the case with such books of this period, there is an interlinear translation into English. For instance, in the hymn *Christe, sanctorum*, on lf. 42, the Latin text reads, "O Christe, tu es decus atque virtus, & vita & forma, & via & lux," etc. The English, placed immediately above, word over word, reads, "eala þu crist þu eart wlite & miht & lif & hiw & weg & leoht," etc. There is neither musical notation nor rubric in the pages of the Hymn-book proper.

The Hymnal, MS. Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,951, is of the fifteenth century, and is a volume of similar size to the former. The hymns are in Latin, and somewhat more boldly written than those of the earlier book, and there is the full musical notation to every hymn. At the commencement of most of the hymns a few words of rubric are prefixed, but rubrics are not placed to every hymn, and when so placed are not always so full as those in the later printed Hymn-books. (See Plate.)

Both MSS. have some additional matter besides the hymns, such as *Te Deum*, *Beatus vir*, etc., etc.

The third volume is a printed book. It is slightly larger than the two former, and has the title, *Hymnorum cum notis Opusculum, secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis*. It was printed in 1525. This, too, has musical notation to every hymn, and a rubric at the commencement of each. The index enumerates 121 hymns.

Some of the hymns in the two later books occur more than once. The hymn *Iam lucis orto sidere* is printed in full with the music no less than twenty times.

At times, though rarely, the hymns in all three books are written straight on from one to another, and thus

sometimes a hymn will appear without any indication of its being distinct from the preceding.

The early volume contains much of the text of the two later books, and it is an interesting fact that the order of the hymns in all three volumes is at times exactly the same.

THE CONTENTS OF A MEDIEVAL HYMN-BOOK

The following list of hymns is from the end of a Sarum hymn-book printed in 1525.

Ad cenam agni.	Christe sanctorum.
Adesto sancta trinitas.	Christi miles gloriosus.
Ales diei nuncius.	Claro pascali gaudio.
Andrea pie sanctorum.	Clarum decus.
Angulare fundamentum.	Collaudemus.
Annue christe.	Conditor alme.
Antra deserti teneris.	Consors paterni.
A patre unigenitus.	Crux fidelis.
A solis ortus cardine.	Cultor dei.
Audi benigne conditor.	Deus creator omnium.
Aurea luce.	Deus tuorum militum.
Aurora jam spargit.	Doctor egregie paule.
Aurora lucis rutilat.	Ecce iam noctis.
Ave maris stella.	Ecce tempus ydoneum.
Ave mater anna.	Estimavit ortulanum.
Bartholomee celi.	Eterna celi gloria.
Beata nobis gaudia.	Eterne rerum conditor.
Beate symon et thadee.	Eterne rex altissime.
Bina celestis aule.	Ex more docti mystico.
Celestis formam glorie.	Exultet celum laudibus.
Celi deus sanctissime.	Exultet cor precordiis.
Chorus nove hierusalem.	Festum matris gloriose.
Christe qui lux es.	Felix anna pre aliis.
Christe redemptor omnium.	Hostis herodes impie.
Christe redemptor omnium, Ex.	Immense celi conditor.

Impleta gaudent.
 Impleta sunt.
 In anne puerperio.
 Iste confessor.
 Jam bone pastor petre.
 Jam christus astra.
 Jam lucis orto sidere.
 Jesu auctor clementie.
 Jesu corona virginum.
 Jesu dulcis memoria.
 Jesu nostra redemptio.
 Jesu quadragenarie.
 Jesu redemptor omnium.
 Jesu salvator seculi.
 Jesu salvator seculi. Verbum.
 Letabundus exultet.
 Lucis creator optime.
 Lustra sex qui iam.
 Lux ecce surgit.
 Magne deus potentie.
 Martyr dei qui.
 Mathia juste duodene.
 Mundi salus affutura.
 Nocte surgentes.
 Nox atra rerum.
 Nox et tenebre.
 Nunc sancte nobis.
 O gloriosa femina.
 O lux beata trinitas.
 O maria noli flere.
 O nata lux de lumine.
 O nimis felix meriti.
 O pater sancte mitis.
 O quam glorifica.
 O salutaris fulgens.
 O sator rerum reparator.

O thoma christi.
 Pange lingua gloriosi.
 Pange lingua gloriosi corporis.
 Plasmator hominum deus.
 Primo dierum omnium.
 Quem terra pontus.
 Quod chorus vatium.
 Rector potens verax.
 Rerum deus tenax.
 Rerum creator optime.
 Rex gloriose martyrum.
 Sacris solemnibus.
 Sancte dei preciose.
 Sanctorum meritis.
 Salvator mundi domine.
 Sermone blando angelus.
 Somno reffectis artubus.
 Splendor paterne glorie.
 Summe deus clementie.
 Summi largitor premii.
 Telluris ingens.
 Te lucis ante terminum.
 Tibi christe splendor.
 Tristes erant apostoli.
 Tu christe nostrum.
 Tu trinitatis unitas.
 Urbs beata hierusalem.
 Ut queant laxis.
 Veni creator spiritus.
 Veni redemptor gentium.
 Verbum supernum prodiens.
 Verbum supernum prodiens,
 nec.
 Vexilla regis prodeunt.
 Virginis proles opifex.
 Vox clara ecce.

The late Mr. Henry Bradshaw contributed several "rational" lists of Sarum hymns to the Cambridge edition of the Sarum Breviary, iii., pp. ciii–cxviii; and Mr. Jenkinson, now University Librarian at Cambridge, completed his predecessor's unfinished lists of editions, pp. lxxxi–lxxxv.

Mr. Wordsworth compiled for the same work the Indexes of Sequences in use in England, iii., pp. xcii.–xcix., and of hymns of Sarum and other English uses (iii., Appendix, pp. lxxxviii–xci). Mr. Bradshaw reckons 115 hymns (or distinct parts of hymns) in the Sarum Breviary of the sixteenth century.

Mr. J. Stevenson edited the Latin hymns and Anglo-Saxon glosses, from a MS. which dates *circa* 1050, for the Surtees Society, in 1851, under the title of *The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*. The hymns of that volume are 153 in number.

Of the common medieval hymn-books no complete text has been printed in modern times, but Bishop Stubbs and A. C. Wilson edited the Sarum, York, and Hereford Breviary hymns in 1850, and the *Hymnarium Sarisburiense cum rubricis et notis musicis* was in part issued in 1851. Many medieval hymns will be found in Moorsom's *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern*, 1903. The well-known *Hymns Ancient and Modern* contains an English rendering of some of the medieval hymns, and Mr. L. C. Biggs's *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, 1867, supplies the Latin and English of a certain number in parallel columns. Mr. Julian's great *Dictionary of Hymnology* has much information respecting medieval hymns. (L.)

cellenti. siue ductibus tam
quam ab eo missis. ad un-
dictam malefactorum? lau-
dem uero bonorum. Ad. ix.

Serui subditi estote cap.
in omni timore domi-
nis non tantum boni
& modestis? sed etiam disco-
lis. hec est enim gra in xpo
ihu domino nostro. Domi-
nica quarta ad uespas. Or.

Ds qui fidelium mentes
unius efficit uolunta-
tes da populis tuis id
amare quod precipis. id de-
siderare quod promittis. ut
inter mundanas uarietates
ibi nostra fixa sint corda u-
bi uera sunt gaudia. P. do.

Imnine In laudibz. capit.
datum optimum omne
donum pfectum desur-
sum est descendens a patre
luminum. apud quem non
est transmutatio nec uicissi-
tudinis obumbratio. Or.

Ds qui fidelium. Ad. iii.
cap.

Sit autem Ad. vi. cap.
omnis homo uelox
ad audiendum. tar-

du autem ad loquendu
& tardus ad iram. na enim
uiri iusticiam dei non op-
atur. At. ix. capitulum.

Abicientes omnem in-
mundiciam & abun-
dantiam malicie in-
mansuetudine suscipite
institum uerbum quod po-
test saluare animas uestras.
Ad uespas. cap. Omne
datum opti. Or. **D**s qui
fidelium mentes. Domi-
nica quinta ad uespas. Or.

Ds a quo bona cuncta
procedunt largire
supplicibus ut cogite-
mus te inspirante que re-
ta sunt & te gubernante
eadem faciamus P. In lau-

Estote fac dibi. capit.
tores uerbi & non
auditores tantum
fallentes uosmet ipsos qa
si quis auditor est uerbi &
non factor hic comparabi-
tur uiro consideranti uul-
tum naturitatis sue in spe-
culo. Or. **D**s a quo bona.
Ad. iii. capit. **E**stote fac-
tores s. Ad. vi. capituli.

THE COLLECT-BOOK

In the "Notes on Service-books," appended by Henry Bradshaw to the *History of All Saints', Derby*, by Dr. Cox and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, the Collect-book is described briefly as follows:—

"The *Collectarium* containing the Capitula, or short Lessons used at all the Hour services except Mattins, and the *Collectæ* or *Orationes* used at the same."

The Collect-book is really the Collect and Chapter-book.

The Collect-book is to-day an exceedingly rare volume, although in the thirteenth century every church had one, or was expected to provide a copy. But after the Exeter Diocesan Synod, under P. Quivil, in 1287, this requirement was dropped, and in the accounts of medieval churchwardens, or in their inventories of the books of their parish churches, the Collect-book is not often mentioned. Perhaps not more than half a dozen of these service-books of the English Church remain in existence to-day, and the latest of the examples which are noticed in the following pages are all of the thirteenth century. After that time the multiplication of fuller Breviaries enabled the clergy to dispense with Collect-books.

The Collect-books remaining exhibit little or no ornamentation, but big capitals of different colours commence each chapter and collect, and the rubrics are in red. There is no musical notation to the Collect-book proper; but the Hymnal, when attached, will be found to have the music supplied at the beginning of each hymn.

The Collect-book may be a Collect-book only (with 'short chapters'), as that at Balliol College, MS. 321; or

it may contain a Calendar, Psalter (with canticles), Collect-book proper, and Hymn-book, as in the Bodleian MS., Laud Latin 95.

The Collect-book in no way contains a whole service, like the Manual, the Breviary, or the Missal, but only certain portions. These consist of a number of chapters and collects, each being preceded by a little rubric indicating the occasion for its use. Sometimes a short rubric will be attached to the end of a collect, but this is not usual. Commonly, after the rubric, the collect or the chapter only is given; but sometimes both are present. At times two chapters will be given, and at times two collects. In one instance two chapters are followed by three collects.

When both chapter and collect are given, the collect invariably follows the chapter; in no case does the chapter follow the collect. The chapters and collects are short.

The following is an example of the text of a medieval Collect-book. It is taken from the thirteenth century Bodleian MS., Laud Latin 95 :—

“*Dominica xxiiij. Oratio.* Deus, refugium nostrum,” etc.

“*Dominica xxiiij. Oratio.* Absolve, quesumus, domine, tuorum delicta populorum,” etc.

“*Ultima dominica, ad vespervas. Oratio.* Excita, quesumus, domine,” etc.

“*In dedicatione ecclesie, ad vespervas. Capitulum.* Vidi civitatem sanctam,” etc.

“*Oratio.* Deus, qui nobis,” etc.

And again :—

“*In laudibus. Oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui,” etc.

“*Ad vi. Capitulum.* Audivi numerum signatorum,” etc.

“*Ad ix. Capitulum.* Vidi turbam magnam,” etc.

“*De sancto Eustachio. Oratio.* Da nobis, quesumus, domine,” etc.

Such is, very briefly, the main outline of the Collect-book. At times there is a slight departure from this simplicity, and a lesson, versicle, etc., will be included. Such occasions are, however, extremely few.

It will be seen that the plan of the Collect-book is not altogether unlike that of the Benedictional.

Though of inferior dignity to the Gospel-book, the Collect-book was a volume of considerable importance. In our cathedral choirs in Norman times the *Collectarius*, *Collectaneum*, or *Collectualis liber* was an important volume. Like the *Martiloge* "in capitulo," the *Collectarius* "in choro" was constantly in request, and thus at Lincoln in 1267, 1283, and 1284 important documents (one of them ascribed to St. Hugh) were registered in the end of the latter, as a document of 1214 had been registered in the *Martiloge*.

In the twelfth century there were no less than *sex collectarii* in the custody of the Lincoln treasurer, and even down to the middle of the fifteenth century it was still customary for the officiant in choir to have the book of *Capitula* and *Orationes* brought to him in his stall with some ceremony: and a taper with it. Thus at Hereford it was part of the Treasurer's duty to find the candles, and his sub-Treasurer was allowed a loaf daily from the chapter bakehouse (*furnus*), "*pro portacione collectarii in choro.*"

According to the Sarum customs the book was to be brought to the *sacerdos, executor officii*, by a boy vested in a surplice, carrying a candle, while the officiant was not to move from his stall.¹ A remnant of such custom remains in our days at Trinity College, Cambridge, where

¹ *Liber Niger Lincoln*, pp. 12, 38, 53, 54, 300; *Use of Sarum*, 97, 117, 123, 188; *Lincoln Statutes* (Hereford Section), ii. 68, 69.

on festivals the chapel clerk carries the great folio Bible for the Master, or the Senior Fellow, to read the lesson in his stall, or as forty years ago the Head Master of Winchester used to precent *Venite* in his place.

The old cathedral statutes provided further that, on Christmas Day, and at other times when the Bishop himself officiated in choir, the Treasurer in person was to "bring, minister, and hold up" for his lordship the "*collectarium pro capitulis et oracionibus dicendis*" (as the Chancellor was to present him the *legenda*, and the Precentor to give him the tones for *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Gloria in Excelsis*).

The Lincoln customs, *cir.* 1258-79, direct that at the end of Lauds the sacrist should fetch the *liber collectualis* at the end of Psalm v.¹ There was a consuetudinary entered in the Collectar there;² and in the draft statutes of Bishop Alnwick, borrowed mainly from St. Paul's, London, about 1440, there is an interesting passage bearing upon the title of the book. In London it is called simply "*manuale Ecclesie*," in the fourteenth-century Registrum; but, for Lincoln, that unusual term had to be explained and amplified into "*manuale ecclesie commune, sive collectarius*."³

Balliol College MS. 321. This Collect-book is of the thirteenth century. The leaves are about twelve inches high, and the text is clearly written without ornamentation. The first leaves of the book are now missing, but as the second of those remaining contains the chapter following the rubric "*Dominica 1 post octavas Epiphanie*," probably

¹ Bradshaw and Wordsworth's *Liber Niger*, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*, p. 300.

³ *Lincoln Statutes*, iii. 273.

few leaves are wanting. The word "*Oratio*" is used in place of "*Collecta*" throughout the volume, "*Collecta*" occurring only once, before the prayer "*Sancta Maria, mater domini nostri*, on lf. 2. There are eighty-two leaves in all, the last few being occupied by a little additional matter.

Bodleian Library MS., Douce 381. This book is a large volume about twenty-two inches high, with blank leaves, into which the leaves of several different MSS. have been so inserted that both sides may be displayed. Leaves 26-62, the leaves with which we are concerned, are of the thirteenth century. Leaves 26-33 contain the fragments of a Collect-book proper; the remaining leaves, 34-62, form the fragments of a Hymnal. That this Hymnal is part of the Collect-book is fortunately assured by the fact, that the last page of the Collect-book proper is inscribed at the foot, "*Dominica prima in adventu domini ad vesp̄as, ymnus*," and then follows the hymn on the next leaf, "*Conditor alme syderum*," which is the first hymn of the Sarum Hymnal. Each hymn has the music attached to it, but at the commencement only, the rest of the hymn being written with no musical notation.

The leaves of this MS. are about nine inches high, and the text is well written, with very little ornamentation. In this MS. the collects are headed "*Collecta*." Only once, on lf. 33, does the word "*Oratio*" occur. The book is but a fragment, though a valuable one. It commences at the collect for SS. Crispin and Crispinianus:—

"*Collecta. Deus, qui sanctis martiribus tuis*," etc.

Bodleian Library MS. Laud, Latin 95. This Collect-book, of the thirteenth century, is about fourteen inches

high. Unlike the other two books, it is written in double columns. It has little or no attempt at ornamentation.

The book is apparently perfect, and contains :—

A Calendar.

Psalter (with canticles).

Collect-book proper.

Hymnal (with music at the beginning of each hymn).

The word "*Oratio*" is used at the commencement of each collect instead of "*Collecta*," but subsequently the collect is sometimes referred to *as* a collect. The following is an instance of this :—

"*Oratio. Da nobis, quesumus, domine,*" etc. "*Hec collecta dicatur ad omnes horas.*"

The Collect-book proper commences :—

"*Dominica prima Adventus domini ad vespervas, Capitulum. Erit in novissimis diebus,*" etc.

The Collect-book was not one of those service-books which were printed before the Reformation: the printed Breviary, or *Portiforium*, sufficiently supplied the place of the Collectar, as of sundry other books. Since that time a tenth-century Collect-book, with an interlinear English translation, has been printed by the Surtees Society, under the editorship of Mr. Stevenson. At the time of its publication liturgical study had made but little progress, and the volume was issued under the title of an "Anglo-Saxon Ritual." It was written in the tenth century in the south of England. (See H. Bradshaw on the *Hibernensis*, p. 65 *n.*)

Another Collect-book, which was given to the Church of Exeter by Leofric (*cir.* 1052–72), is now in the British

Museum, MS. Harl., 2,961. We refer to it under the head of Breviaries. Mr. Dewick is preparing an edition of the volume for the H. Bradshaw Society. (L.)

THE READING-BOOKS

THE LEGENDA, ETC.

In the household of faith it has from of old been one part of man's worship and homage paid to the Almighty, that he should give Him of His own, by making an offering of His written Word.

The custom of the synagogue (at which Christ, the Living WORD, habitually assisted: Cf. Luke iv. 16), with its system of seven lessons from the Law, followed by one from the Prophets, was continued in the Christian Church. But from the earliest days (1 Thess. v. 27; Col. iv. 16) the letters of the apostles were taken as an additional reading; and in course of time the Gospels and the Acts (or *Memoabilia*) were added (Justin M., *Apol.*, i. 67). Afterwards Acts and Passions of other martyrs were also read: then Lives of other holy persons. Also Expositions of the liturgical gospels, and other profitable passages from homilies and sermons of the Fathers were added.

In early days the appointed passage was marked and read from the full text of the Evangelists or from the volume of the Fathers' works;¹ but by-and-by it was found more convenient to extract and collect into one reading-book the scattered lections, and to arrange them in the order of Sundays, etc., as they would be read.

¹ Thus passages are marked (for reading at the Holy Eucharist) in the Græco-Latin Codex Bezae, and in the seventh-century Gospel-book from St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

In the synagogue the readers, or the persons "called before the Law" to hear the readings, are marshalled in ascending order of honour. On a Sabbath the chapter of the Law is divided into seven sections, the first for a *Cohen*, of Aaron's line, the second for a *Levy*, sections iii.–vii. for persons of other tribes of Israel. Lastly, the *haphtorah*, or lesson from the prophet, chosen with some regard to the preceding lessons from the *Torah*, is assigned to the *Maphtir*.¹

In place of these eight lessons, St. Benet for his Christian community (*cir.* 520) ordered sundry selections to be read in sets of four, each set preceded by psalmody. Three such sets or "nocturns" were reserved for Sundays and other "holy days of xii. lessons," four in each nocturn; while lesser days, or shorter Mattins, have one set of "four lessons."

For secular clergy, lessons are grouped in sets of three, so that days rank as of ix. or of iii. lessons. They are, moreover, read publicly in choir in *ascending* order of dignity, from choir boys up to the Bishop or other principal officiant. All Saints' Day was a peculiar exception to this rule (*Use of Sarum*, i. 110).

What has been said refers to the (*Breviary*) lessons of the choir-service at Mattins.

The liturgical epistles and gospels being reserved for the (*missal*) altar-service, were (and, to some extent, still are) preceded by the *prophetica lectio* (one or more), and

¹ On ordinary days, besides "*Cohen*" and "*Levi*," only one "*Israel*" is called to the law, so that we have in Jewish custom an origin for—or a coincidence with—the *dies trium lectionum* of Western Christendom (see *Min'ha Hadaschah*, Paris, 1878, pp. 162, 424: Sephardic Rite). The number of persons called before the Law in the Synagogue varied on special holy days from three to six (*Mishna, Megilla*, 23a). On the Sabbath there were seven at least.

the gospel is read by the minister officiating as deacon at the Mass. A foretaste of this arrangement is given by the direction that the third division of choir lessons (in the third nocturn of the Breviary) at the Mattins of the day should consist of a patristic Exposition of the liturgical gospel which is to be read in at the High Mass about to follow. Thus the *lectio septima*, or opening lesson of the third nocturn on Sundays, etc., is assigned likewise to the deacon, who prefaces his reading of the Exposition with an opening verse from the gospel of the day, on which it comments, and which he himself will read through at the mass later in the day.

The epistle for the Sunday Mass is also commonly divided into small portions for reading at choir-services other than Mattins, so that a verse or two is read in rotation for a "Little Chapter" after the appointed psalms, in the course of Lauds, Terce, Sext, Nones, and Evensong. A *capitulum* is appointed for Compline also; but this is invariably from Jeremiah xiv. (which serves as epistle in the votive Mass *contra mortalitatem hominum*). The Chapter at Prime was almost invariable.

For the first and second nocturns at festal Mattins the lessons are taken from the Old Testament, or from the lives of Saints, and from sermons of the Fathers, suitable to the season or the holy day. There are special readings in the Chapter-service after Prime, which will be mentioned in our account of the "Martiloge." Also of the "Collatio" we shall speak below.

The Breviary lessons from the Old Testament are arranged in a regular course, to which Cranmer referred in his preface to the Prayer-book of 1549, in a passage borrowed from the *Breviarium Quignonianum* of 1535-6.

The reading of the lessons is diversified by the singing of responds and verses gathered from the Bible into the responsal-book, which is attributed to St. Gregory the Great.¹

Each set of lessons (like the *toledoth* of Genesis) is commonly called "*historia*" (the "Story of Creation," the "Story of Adam," the "Story of Joshua, Job, Tobit," etc.), and these are ordinarily described by the opening words of the *respond* attached to the first section of Scripture in each case, thus:—

HISTORIA.	RESPONSORIUM.	<i>In tempore.</i>
Esaiæ . . .	" <i>Aspiciens</i> " . . .	Adventus.
S. Pauli . . .	" <i>Domine, ne in ira</i> " . . .	post octavas Epiphannie.
Genesis . . .	" <i>In principio [Deus creavit]</i> " . . .	in Septuagesima.
Exodi . . .	" <i>Locutus est</i> " . . .	mediante Quadragesima.
Hieremiae . . .	" <i>Isti sunt dies</i> " . . .	in Passione Domini.
Lamentationis . . .	" <i>In monte Oliveti</i> " . . .	in Cena Domini.
Apocalypseos . . .	" <i>Dignus es</i> " . . .	post Dom. in Albis.
Epist. Canonicarum . . .	" <i>Narrabo</i> " . . .	hebdom. v. post Pascha.
Regum . . .	" <i>Deus, omnium</i> " . . .	post Trinit.
Sapientiae . . .	" <i>In principio [Deus, antequam]</i> " . . .	post xxviii. Julii.
Job . . .	" <i>Si bona</i> " . . .	post xxviii. Augusti.
Thobiae . . .	" <i>Peto, Domine</i> " . . .	post xi. Septembris.
Judith . . .	" <i>Adonay</i> " . . .	post xx. Septembris.
Machabaeorum . . .	" <i>Adaperiat</i> " . . .	post xxvii. Septembris.
Ezechielis . . .	" <i>Vidi Dominum</i> " . . .	post xxviii. Octobris.

We come now to speak of the volumes in which these and other sets of lessons were collected.²

¹ Offices of later introduction are sometimes provided with responds, etc., in Latin rhythm.

² The gloss on the word "*Legendam*," in iii. 27 of Lyndewode's *Provinciale* (cir. 1433), in Archbishop Winchelsey's constitution, "*Ut parochiani*" (A.D. 1305), mentions, besides *lectiones de biblia*, the writings of SS. Maximus,

Among Leofric's gifts to Exeter, *cir.* 1050-72, were "two summer reading-books, one winter reading-book, one complete book of homilies for winter and summer" (which last is now in the Cambridge Univ. Library, Gg. 3. 28), "one passional, one *passiones apostolorum*, three volumes of Isidore, and three of Bede's expositions," besides several volumes of isolated books of Holy Scripture, and works by such writers as Boëthius, Orosius, Gregory, Prosper, Prudentius, Sedulius, etc.

In 1327 Exeter Chapter still possessed two "Books of the Saints, of Rouen Use," given by their bishop¹ about 1137, along with two volumes of *Legendae*, viz. *Sanctorum per annum*, and *de Temporali*, and another *Legenda Sanctorum*. Two of the canons had given three sets of *Legenda Sanctorum* (one being divided into two volumes), a *Legenda de Adventu*, two copies of *Legenda de temporali* (each in two volumes), and a *Legenda de Commemoracionibus Sanctorum*. A *Legenda de Temporali Sarum*, not yet bound in boards (*asseribus*), three new *Legendae de Temporali et de Sanctis*, and six other *Lectionaria*. The prices of these books varied, from 6s. 8d. for the Commemorations, up to £4. Mr. Reynolds tells us (*Legenda Exon.*, Pref., p. v) that there was also a book of lessons for St. Gabriel, consisting of a single quire of leaves, price 12d. That feast was not introduced at Salisbury, from Exeter, until 1451.

Towards the end of his episcopate J. de Grandisson, in 1366, presented to Exeter Cathedral church his splendid

Austin, Isidore, Leo, Martin, Johannes [Chrysostomus] Episcopus, and the *Homilies*, and *Lives of Saints*. (*Provinciale*, Oxon., 1679, p. 251 n.). About twenty-four other sources of lessons are named in the Sarum Breviary.

¹ W. Warewast, a Norman, was Bishop of Exeter, 1107-37.

Legenda in two volumes, now numbered MSS. 3504-5 in the cathedral library there.

Volume I. consists of two parts, containing—

- (i) Quicquid legitur de Biblia.
- (ii) Sermones et Omelie de Temporalibus.

Lecciones B. Marie.

Dedicacionis ecclesie.

Collaciones quadragesimales.

Lecciones post Primam, in capitulo.

Volume II. (of which Mr. Reynolds edited three-quarters) comprises—

- (iii) Lecciones proprie de Sanctis.

De communi Sanctorum, proprium non habencium.

De commemoracionibus apostolorum Petri et Pauli

(Exeter Cathedral was dedicated in their honour).

Legenda quorundam, de quibus fit in ecclesia

Exoniensi tantum.

A fifteenth-century *Lectionarius* of Norwich diocese is at Trin. Coll., Cam., MS. O. 5. 3.

Besides a new Legend in two volumes (*viz. Temporale* and *Sanctorale*), and two others somewhat dilapidated or “febull,” the church of St. Dunstan’s parish, Canterbury, in 1500 had a considerable number of small books or “queers” (*i.e. quaterniones*, or sheets) for separate festivals mostly of later introduction (*cir.* 1318-1480), *viz.* Corpus Christi, St. Katherine, St. Matthias, the Visitation, Holy Name, and Transfiguration, besides some of St. Dunstan, etc.

A parish church in the city of Salisbury (St. Edmund’s), in 1472 had “ij. Legendes, Hugucion y chaynyd in our lady Chappell, j. boke of the life of Seints, and j. newe grete legant, bought by the churche godes, called a

Temporall." In 1477, 40s. was paid for a *legenda*. In 1479, "paid for viij. quayres of Velom, bought to write in the Visitation of oure Lady and Seynt Osmand stories, to the vse of the church, 6s. Paid to Sir John Od lond [chaplain] for wrytyng of the same ingrosse, 5s.," etc.

A fifteenth-century Sarum *Legenda*, formerly in use at Starston, Suffolk, is now at Oxford, MS. Bodl., 280.

Only two editions of the *Legenda*, so far as we know, were printed for England: both were in folio, and of Sarum Use. The earlier one, *cir.* 1491, is known only from fragments at Cambridge and at Paris. Both the editions were printed at Paris: one by J. Higman, the latter, in 1518, by Wolfgang Hopyl for F. Byrckman. The *Legenda* of 1518 is one of the fine set of Sarum books which have for a frontispiece the Cologne woodcut in three tiers, representing the B. Virgin, St. Ursula and her companions, and the Seven Maccabees, martyrs.

The book answers to its title ("Legende totius anni, tam de tempore quam de sanctis secundum ordinem ['ordinationem,' *in colophon*] Sarum"), as it contains—

(1) *Temporale*. The "Histories" from Advent to Trinity inclusive, with those for "Dedicatio ecclesie."

(2) *Commune Sanctorum*. With the addition of St. Winifred, whose feast was enjoined by Arundel and Chicheley, in 1398 and 1415.

(3) *Proprium Sanctorum*, from St. Andrew to SS. Saturninus and Sisinnius, with St. Winifred's lessons repeated.

(4) *Benedictiones Matutinales*, for use before the reading of the lessons at each nocturn.

The book contains 430 leaves, and might be conveniently described as little more than a series of excerpts from the

Great Breviary: only that would be like putting "the cart before the horse."

Among books largely used by the clergy were the "*Catalogus Sanctorum*" of Bishop P. de Natalibus, a Venetian, *cir.* 1470, and the earlier "*Nova Legenda Anglie*," etc. (printed both by W. de Worde and Pynson in February, 1516-17, with a treatise by Wa. Hylton, Austin Canon of Thurgarton, d. 1396, "*Scala perfectionis*"). The collection was made principally by J. Capgrave, D.D., Oxon., provincial of the Augustinians, *cir.* 1450, and has been edited by Dr. Horstman, for the Clarendon Press. Capgrave was largely indebted to John of Tynemouth, a Benedictine of St. Alban's, author of *Historia Aurea*, whose "*Sanctilogium*," *cir.* 1360, exists in British Museum MS. Cotton, Tib. E. 1. This is distinguished by Mr. Dewick (Preface to Whytford's *Martiloge*, p. xii) from the "*Sanctilogium Salvatoris*," of which the convent of Syon, near Richmond, had two volumes.

Dr. Horstman has edited from Bodl. MS., Laud, 108, for E. E. Text Society, 1887, an early Legendary or metrical "*Liber Festivalis*" in Southern English, contemporary with, but independent of, the book which we shall next mention.

The more famous work of Jac. de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa ("*Januensis*"), a Dominican (d. 1298), whose sermons and "*Mariale*" also were widely read, was variously known as "*Historia Langobardica*,"¹ "*Pas-sionale*," and "*Legenda Aurea*." It was collected, *cir.* 1275, from Jerome, Eusebius, etc., and was printed at

¹ The *history of the Lombards* is introduced into the life of St. Pelagius, pope. See *Golden Legend* (Temple Classics), vii. 106-39.

Cologne in 1470, at Nuremberg in 1478, and elsewhere. A French version, by Jean de Vignay, was printed by P. Keyser in 1476. From this Caxton himself made an English translation, at the request of W., Earl of Arundel, and printed it in 1483. In 1489 he issued it again, with an additional life of St. Erasmus, whose honour was then much in vogue. Wynken de Worde several times reprinted his master Caxton's work; and Julian Notary also produced it in 1503.

Caxton's *Golden Legend* follows the lines of the service-book called *Legenda* more closely than did the original collection of Ja. de Voragine. Caxton collects the lections of the ecclesiastical seasons in a sort of *Temporale*: "Of the aduent of our Lorde," "Of the Natiuite of our lorde Ihesu Crist," etc., ending that section of his book with chapters "Of the feste of the Holy Sacrament," and "Of the dedicacion of the Temple," while Januensis combined saints and seasons in one series, according to the months of the year, as far as possible, with "*de dedicatione ecclesiae*" at the end of all; and, of course, the "Corpus Christi" chapter was added after the original recension of the Latin.

As the Breviary (and its companion *Legenda*) usually has a series of *Historiae*, or Mattins lessons after Trinity and Corpus Christi, so Caxton gives "the storrye of Adam," "the Hystorye of Noe," "the Lyf of Abraham—Ysaac, Esau, and Jacob—Joseph and his brethern—and Moyses. Here folowen the ten comandemens of our lawe." "Of the Hystorye of Josue—Saul—Dauid—Salamon—Roboas—Job, red on the first Sondag of Septembre, Tobye . . . the thyrde Sondaie—and Judith." Thus he goes some way towards providing an Old Testament in

English for the people, though, of necessity, the price of this folio, as of most other books, was as yet beyond the purses—and the reading ability—of the poor. It may be noticed that he leaves out the *historia Maccabaeorum* (possibly because their passion comes among the saints of August in his collection), and also those of Wisdom and Ezechiel, which the *Legenda* and Breviary reserved for August and November. Then come (for his *Sanctorale*) the lives of 217 saints (and St. Erasmus) from St. Andrew to Saturninus and Sisinnius; and after these

“The noble Historye of the exposition of the Masse” (an instruction as to its order, history, and *rationale*, in four parts) and

“The xii. articles of our feyth” (a short treatise on the Creed). The Lord’s Prayer is explained in the second part of the Mass; and as the whole book has been made accessible not only in Mr. W. Morris’s splendid edition from the Kelmscott Press, but in Mr. Dent’s handy “Temple Classics,” we need not dwell upon it here. Caxton touches upon “Ave, Maria,” under the head of the Annunciation. The Decalogue, or “comandemens,” have been mentioned above, and our limits do not allow of our speaking of the very numerous treatises in prose and verse, and other sermon helps which existed in the Middle Ages.

As to the French edition of the “Story of the Mass” and its illuminated illustrations, see the larger series of Alcuin Club publications, vol. ii.

The Golden Legend, from Caxton’s edition of 1483, three volumes, small folio, with note by F. S. Ellis, printed by W. Morris at the Kelmscott Press, 1892. Quaritch.

The Golden Legend, from Caxton’s edition of 1483, with

appendix, 1487-1527, seven volumes, 12°, edited by F. S. Ellis, in the "Temple Classics" series, about 1899-1901. Dent.

Besides the books which fall properly under the heading of the "*Legenda*," and the volumes from which it was compiled, we find a few other books occasionally mentioned in church inventories. Some volumes were laid upon desks, and sometimes secured by chains, for the edification of those who could read them, and for the benefit of the clerks watching the shrines and altars or waiting for penitents to be shrived. Others were provided to enable the clergy to give instruction to their parishioners, and either took the form of what a later age has called "sermon helps," or of books to be read aloud for edification of the people.

At the collegiate church of Heytesbury, in 1220, there were (besides the usual service-books) *Pastorale Gregorii*, *Liber sermonum*, and *Decreta pontificum*.

Attached to St. Hugh's shrine at Lincoln there were, besides ornaments and jewels, and two embroidered cushions, *Legenda de temporalibus et de sanctis*, incompleta, a *collectarium*, "*Cum animadverterem*," cum commento,¹ "a booke of seint hugh life, cheyned, and a book of sermons."

We may suppose that so much of the "*Sermologus*" and "*Homiliarius*" as was incorporated in the Breviary was used by our medieval clergy to help them in their sermons. These were, probably, not numerous. There is

¹ This may possibly have been the favourite "*Cato parvus*," *de moribus mensa*, or perhaps more probably the *Memoriale presbyterorum parochialium* ascribed (as is also the above-mentioned commentary on "*Stans puer ad mensam*") to Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln; both of which have this beginning. See Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, pp. 347, 350.

a charming simplicity about the Sarum rubric, "*fiat sermo (ad populum), si placuerit*" (*Salisbury Ceremonies*, pp. 60, 123).

The Lincoln Cathedral Statutes (fourteenth century) do indeed require the Chancellor to provide a preacher every Sunday, and there were sermons in Chapter on seventeen days in the year. But the fifteenth-century *Novum Registrum* recognises as sermon-days only the four Sundays in Advent, the ten Sundays from Septuagesima to Easter-day inclusive, and Ash Wednesday, and requires a Latin sermon *in capitulo* of the Chancellor on Easter and Christmas-day; those on Palm Sunday and the local titular feast of the Assumption being in English. The friars mendicant¹ were to have sermons in their churches in Lincoln on St. Mark's Day (the "Greater Litany") and Rogation days, if there were "stations" held at their churches.

Our limits of space and subject entirely preclude our speaking of the sermons in Latin and English which are to be found in our libraries, and we must confine ourselves to describing one volume, though rather a late example. We owe our account to Mr. H. Peach.

There is in Wyggeston Hospital, Leicester, a volume of early fifteenth-century MS. sermons in English. Though mutilated, it still consists of 277 leaves. The sermons, over 200 in number, are upon the Gospels of the days noted in the Missal, including Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent. They are clearly intended for use by

¹ Chaucer's "Pardoner" describes his favourite sermon, "*Ad Thimotheum Sexto*," in his prologue. His "Persone's Tale" is a *bonâ fide* specimen of a prose instruction on Penance, Contrition, and the Deadly Sins, beginning *Jerem. Sexto*.

the parochial clergy, and contain an occasional hit at their rivals the friars. Thus on the Gospel of the woman of Samaria (St. John iv., Sermon 29, for Friday after the Third Sunday in Lent) the preacher says:—

“[*Autorite of freris* (margin).

“Ihesu seide to *this* woman, 3yue me to drynke: and diciples of Crist wenten in to *the* cite to bye hem meete; for *thei* snokiden not from hous to hous: and begged hem meete as freris don.,” *et cetera*.

In *Sermon 54 de Tempore*, an exposition on St. Matthew xxiii. 13–29, the “wulfis of raveyn” in sheep’s clothing are explained to be “specialy men of *thes* newe ordres, and most *thes* freris *that* last camen inne.”

The MS., which is in double columns, belonged to the chantry “in the newark,” founded by W. Wyggeston (*cir.* 1513) in connexion with the Collegiate Church of St. Mary’s, Leicester. It contains (Nos. 1–55):—

(i) *Sermones dominicales de Tempore. Expositio in* Matt. xxiii. *De sacramento*.¹

(ii) *Sermones de Sanctis*. (a) Nos. 1–31. *De Comuni*. (b) *de proprietate sanctorum*. Nos. 32–46.

(iii) *Sermones de feriis* (including Sab. quattuor temporum in Septembri, in Dedicacione templi, in octa. dedic.; de missa *Salus populi*, de pace, and pro Defunctis. Nos. 1–118. Pro sponsalibus. “No. 14.”

¶ Here endene *the* gospelis *de ecclesia et membris eius*.

(iv) Of Cristes church, capp. i.–x.

(v) *Epistole dominicales*. Nos. 1–55.

¹ In the sermon *De Sacramento* the friars are charged with denying the received doctrine of Transubstantiation, saying that the “sacred host, whyt and rownd . . . is an accident wethout suget, and may in no wise be goddis body, and so *thei* glosen *the* wordes of holy writ . . . and chese newe sownden termes of hem seluen, euen to *the* contrarie.”

Among the publications of the Early English Text Society are the following :—

Early English Homilies (*cir.* 1220–30), i., No. 29; 1867.

Do. (before 1300), ii., No. 34; 1868.

Do., Series II., No. 53; 1873.

Kentish Sermons (in *O. E. Miscellany*), No. 49; 1872.

The Blickling Homilies (A.D. 971), i., No. 58; 1874.

Do., Part II., No. 63; 1876.

Do., Part III., No. 73; 1880.

Ro. of Brunne, “Meditacyons on the Soper of our Lord,” No. 60; 1875.

Among books in preparation, or contemplated, by the same Society, are :—

Early English Homilies, from MS. Harl., 2,276, etc., *cir.* 1400.

Metrical Homilies, from the Edinburgh MS.

And the Early and Later Festials. See next section.

A few months before he had finished his “Golden Legend” Caxton had issued, in June, 1483, another folio volume of somewhat similar character. It was an edition of the “Festial,” “Festyval,” or *Liber Festivalis*,¹ which is ascribed to John Myrc, Austin Canon of Lilleshall, Salop, *cir.* 1420, author of “Instructions to Parish Priests,” in English verse, taken from the *Pars Oculi*, ascribed either to W. de Pagula or to Wa. Paker, of Cornwall, and edited by Mr. Peacock for E. E. Text Soc. in 1868.

After a pious quatrain, the author of the *Festival* says :—

“[BY] myn owne symple vnderstandynge I fele wel how it fareth by other that ben in the same degree and heven (*i.e.* “have”) charge of soules, and holde to teche theyr paryshens of all the pryncypall feestes *that* come in the yere, shewyng vnto them what the holy sayntes suffred and dyde for goddes sake and for his loue.”

¹ We give a facsimile of a page from a fifteenth-century MS. of the English “Festyval,” Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,403, leaf 30b.

And because “many excuse theym for defaute of bookes, and also by symplenes of connyng. Therfore in helpe of suche clerkes this treates is drawn out of *Legenda Aurea*.”¹

Other authorities which the author of the *Festival* cites incidentally are Josephus, “Rabby Moyses,” J. Bellet (Beleth’s *Explicatio*), Alysaunder Neham (Neckham, *vulgo*, Nequam, *cir.* 1215), and the “Gestes of Romayns.”

Gesta Romanorum was a collection of moral stories, which grew from 44 chapters to 181, and was originally compiled in Latin in England or in Germany, probably in the thirteenth century. Alexander, Antiochus, Tiberius, Julian, besides many imaginary emperors and senators, are named freely as the heroes—or the villains—of various romantic stories, each of which is “moralised” into a spiritual parable for homiletic purposes. The book was printed from about 1472 onwards, and in its English form the collection may have pointed many an exhortation from our English pulpits. J. Dorne sold copies of “gesta romanorum, in Englis” at Oxford for 9*d.* (or 8*d.* unbound) in 1521. (Oxford Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, i. pp. 93, 112.)

In the “*Festyval*,” which was printed at least fifteen times from 1483 to 1532, there are nineteen sermons *de tempore*, and (in the original recension) forty-one *de Sanctis*, including the five days of Christmas, Ember sermons for September, and the Dedication festival. Each sermon begins, “Frendes,” “Good frendes,” or “Dere frendes” [men and women], “Good men and women,” “Worshipful” or “Reverent” friends, and most of the sermons

¹ Caxton apparently printed straight from some earlier MS. of the *Festival*, and did not make use of his own version—or those presumably made of the *Legenda Aurea* for such citations as were made in these sermons.

have attached to them one or more stories of miracles or profitable illustrations, under the title of "*Narraciones*" (after the manner of Capgrave's "*Nova Legenda Angliae*"). To these original sermons by Myrc, which he printed in 1483, Caxton added, in his second edition in 1491, four other sermons,¹ three of which were suitable for the *nova festa* quite recently introduced (the Visitation, the Transfiguration, and the feast "of the swete and holy name of Jhesus").

The fourth is called "*Hamus Charitatis* (the angle-hook of love), an exhortation to apply to our duty towards God the precept, "Doo to a nother as thou wold be don vnto." This seems to have been composed by a Briggittine, or someone having special devotion to St. Bride.

In the editions from 1491 onwards another set of four sermons follows under the head of "*Quattuor Sermones*." These begin with a reference to Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences, and treat of the principal ways by which man may attain to the knowledge of God, viz. by (1) the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Decalogue; (2) the "vii. Sacraments"; (3) "vii. dedes of mercy, ghostly," "vii. principale virtues" (reference being made also to the "ix. pains of the sinful, and vii. joys of the blessed": "To the whiche he brynge vs, that for vs deyed on the rode, Ihesu Cryst, Goddes sone. Amen."); and (4) the parts of penance. "*The generall sentence*," or commination of excommunication, which follows goes upon the same lines as the medieval forms which have been edited in recent years; but while it is not identical with any of them it has most affinity to the York forms.

¹ These later sermons lack the formal *exordium* which characterises all that precede them.

The form of *Bidding the Bedes* from Caxton's first edition of the *Festyval* was included in H. O. C[oxe]'s collection of such forms, 12°, 1840.

The "*Parliament of Devils*," a religious tale of 504 lines in metre, was intended to be read in churches on "the first Sunday in Clean Lent." See Dr. Furnivall's edition from MS. Lambeth, 863, *cir.* 1430, in *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ* (E. E. T. Soc., 1867), p. 56. It was printed by W. de Worde, 4°, 1509. (Camb. Univ., AB. 4. 58 § 10.)

The *Festival* has not been edited in modern times; but in circulars of the Early English Text Society an appeal has been made for editing it, in its earlier and later recension, from MS. Cotton, Claud., A. 2. (*cir.* 1403), and Bodl., Univ. Coll., MS. 102 (*cir.* 1440).

(W.)

THE MARTYROLOGY, OR MARTILOGE

The Martyrology may be described as a kalendar somewhat fuller than those lists of principal saints which can be displayed upon the single page which is usually devoted to each month of the year in several classes of service-books.

Such a fuller list of brief notices was compiled in Syria, about 412. But a work, formerly ascribed to St. Jerome, and said to have been derived from a work of Eusebius, is the basis of Western martyrologies; such perhaps as the Little Roman Martyrology, which seems to have been known to St. Gregory.¹

¹ In 747 the Council of Cloveshoo adopted the Martiloge of the Roman Church for use in this country (Haddan and Stubbs, *Concilia*, iii. 367). For the early history of the Martyrology, see Duchesne's *Christian Worship* (transl.), pp. 289-91. De Rossi, in *Acta Sanctorum*, last vol.; Hans Achelis; and Dom Butler in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, i. 629; ii. 447-58; v. 150.

Dr. Herzfeld has edited (for the Early English Text Society in 1900) an Old English Martyrology composed in the vernacular, *cir.* 850, from a compilation drawn in the previous century from Bede (who wrote a Martyrology, enlarged by Florus, sub-deacon of Lyons), Adamnan, Felix of Croyland, and Eddius, and from such writers as St. Jerome, Rufinus, and Paulinus of Nola, and the Talmudic writings. It exists in Brit. Mus. MS., Add. 23,211, written *cir.* 850-900, and other copies. Just about the same time (in 870) Ado, Bishop of Vienne, drew up his famous Martyrology; Rabanus Maurus (840) wrote another, which was used by Notker of St. Gall; Usuard of St. Germain des Prés (in 875) abridged Ado's book for Charles the Bald. And thus we come to what now holds the field, the Great *Martyrologium Romanum* of Baronius (1584), which falls beyond our scope.

The Martyrology was read in monastic chapters, as an act of corporate fraternal devotion, after the daily service of Prime. The Prime service "in chapter" is mentioned by Amalarius (*cir.* 837). The collect, "Almighty Lord and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to direct," etc., naturally preceded the departure of their brethren to the tasks allotted to them. Amalarius mentions (iv. 2, *in fine*) that monasteries had adopted the custom of a *lectio in capitulo*, taken from Holy Scripture. Instead of this, the monks at Rome heard a portion of the Rule of St. Benet read;¹ and this was, probably, the origin of the readings at this meeting, at which other domestic matters were arranged. We shall speak in another section of the *tabula*, or list of duties for the following day or week; but we must mention here

¹ Batiffol (ed. Baylay), p. 113.

another group of monastic customs, which was at once practically helpful to the orderliness of devotion (for it gave notice to the community of the services which were to come next day), and also tended to emphasise the reality of the communion of saints; and the custom to which we refer was introduced into cathedral and collegiate churches in the following form. For each of the "secular" prebendaries of our Old Foundations was also a "Canonicus," *i.e.* he had a "*Rule*" to live by; and a copy of it was commonly put into his hand at installation. The capitular service is thus described in the Sarum Customary and Rubric, and in the fuller directions of the Exeter Ordinal.

"The choir boy, who is to read in chapter in his surplice, first announces from the desk (*pulpitum*) the date (according to the Roman kalendar), and the age of the moon, for the *next* day; and then he reads the section of the Martiloge, *e.g.*,¹ *all standing up*:—

"[To-morrow: 19th Feb., Sunday letter] *A. xi. kalends of March; day of the moon (the so-and-so).*

"At Rome, the *natale* of St. Gabinus, Pr. M., who, having been a long while loaded with chains and imprisonment by Diocletian, by his precious death acquired the joys of heaven.—In Africa, of SS. Publius (Marcellus) and Julian.—(Likewise of St. Barbatus, Bp. C.). The feast also of many other holy martyrs, confessors, and virgins."

Then are announced any obits or anniversaries which are to be kept on the morrow. (In the instance selected for Exeter):—

"*Eodem die A.D. 1258. Obiit Johannes Archidiaconus Toton [Archd. of Totnes, cir. 1254–8], diaconus et canonicus.*"

¹ We select a very short one, from the Exeter Martyrology, which is the old Roman Martyrology of the twelfth century adapted for local use, with obits entered in the margin.

Then the Priest responds: May his soul, and the souls of all other faithful departed, rest in peace. *Amen.*

Priest. Right dear in the sight of the Lord :

Ans. Is the death of His saints.

Then the Priest shall say the Collect:—

MAY Saint Mary, the Mother of our Lord Jesu Christ, and all the holy and elect of God, intercede and pray for us sinners to our Lord and God, that we may be accounted worthy (“*mereamur*”) of His aid and of His salvation, Who, in the Perfect Trinity, liveth, etc.

Then likewise he shall say, thrice—

O God, make speed, etc. *Ans.* O Lord, make haste, etc.

Then, Kyrie eleyson, etc. Pater noster. Et ne nos, etc. (with *preces* for divine guidance, and the Collect, “*Dirigere et sanctificare*,” mentioned above).

Then let the Boy say—

Sir, bid a blessing.

Priest. His blessing shed upon us, He : Who lives and reigns eternally.

Then (all others sitting down) *the Boy reads another Lesson from the Book of Homilies and of writers of Divinity, and ends thus:—*

(But Thou),¹ O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Ans. Thanks be to God.

The chorister then reads the Tabula cantus et lecturæ (the list of duties) *before the Vicars leave the Chapter House, and all stand up to say the Psalm Levavi oculos* (cxxi.) *and other devotions for the King, for the Brotherhood of the Chapter (“familiaribus”), and their relations and friends, and the Psalm De profundis* (cxxx.) *and other devotions for the departed.*

Then, if necessary, a Chapter business meeting was

¹ The Dean, or senior Canon, probably gave the signal to close the reading by saying the two words, “*Tu autem*” (see *Brev. Sarum*, i. p. dxciii.).

held by the Dean and Canons and their notary, alone, with closed doors, and disciplinary corrections were done. After which they crossed themselves, and went back to the quire, some having been told off to sing and attend Chapter Mass, before Terce and High Mass.

For the purposes of this capitular service which we have described the book commonly known as the *Martilogue* was written. It sometimes had broad markers (which we describe in chapter x.), to the tapes or ribands of which memoranda of obits might be attached temporarily, after which the more important obits were deliberately inscribed in the book itself. The Latin *Martyrologium* as used in England in medieval times has not been printed.

Some of the extant MSS. contain no more than the Martyrology proper; but certain other documents are often included in the same volume, as was found convenient for the service of the meeting *in capitulo*. We will attempt to give a full list of these, although no single MS. may be found to comprise them all at once.

A KALENDAR of the usual kind.

The (secular) *Ordinale*, or Constitutions (of the Regulars).

The (secular) Consuetudinary, or Customary.

The *Regula Canoniorum* of Chrodegang of Metz (755), the *Regula St. Augustini*, or the Rule of St. Benet (516-28), etc.

Rules for reading the Martilogue.

THE MARTYROLOGY, THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

The order for *Preces in Capitulo*.

THE OBITUARY KALENDAR. (See p. 160, below.)

Regulations for services in commemoration of the deceased.

Absolutio fratrum.

The Gospels for (Sundays and) holy days.

Names of special benefactors.

Bidding prayer, commemorating benefactors.

Theological treatises for reading at Prime (e.g. St. Ambrose's *de Gradibus Virtutum*, St. Isidore's *Monita de Soliloquiis*, the *Speculum sacerdotum*. Meditations on the psalms).

Register of burials in the cloister-garth, etc.

Lessons for weekly Commemorations.

Ordo officiorum beate Marie for commemoration of her joys on the several days of the week in the Lady Chapel at Exeter, 1336.

Spare leaves at the end, or elsewhere in the book, were used (at Lincoln) for registering such documents as the "*Dignitates, consuetudines et Libertates*" of the Chapter, which would be handy for reference in the Chapter business meetings on Saturdays.

The history of the foundation of the Church, and the lives of its early bishops. At Syon a list of abbots or abbesses, and of confessors-general was prefixed.

Some of these (such as the Rule of Chrodegang) are not found in any extant copy of the Martiloge, but are known to have been contained in the *Martilogium quod legitur cotidie in capitulo* at Lincoln, now lost. An eleventh-century copy of that Rule, with a vernacular version, given to Exeter by Leofric ("i. canon in Laedem"), is extant in the Parker Collection, MS. 191, and will be edited (it is hoped) for the Early English Text Society.

Occasionally a Martiloge is found among the books of a parish church; e.g. a new one at Tillingham, a dependency of St. Paul's, in 1250 (*Visitations*, Camden Society, 1895, p. 14). The Augustinian Martyrology of Guildford, sæc. xiv., is in Camb. Univ. MS., Ll. ii. 9.

On the British Martyrologies see Haddan and Stubbs, *Concilia*, i. pp. 27-36.

Lack of space constrains us to omit a list of twenty-five MS. Martyrologies of English use, sæc. xi.-xvi. The *Félire húi Gormáin*, or (metrical) "Martyrològy of Gorman," cir. 1174, has been edited for the H. Bradshaw Society by Dr. Whitley Stokes, in 1895. The *Martyrology of Donegal*, by Drs. Todd and Reeves, Dublin, 1864. Dr. G. Herzfeld's *Old English Martyrology*, Early English Text Society, 1900, has been mentioned already. The Brigittine Martyrology of Syon, "*the Martiloge in Englysshe, after the vse of the chirche of Salisbury, and as it is redde in Syon, with addicyons, 1526*," was re-edited for the H. Bradshaw Society in 1891-3, by Mr. Dewick. (W.)

LIBER COLLATIONUM

It was a rule at Lincoln, as at St. Paul's, that all members of the cathedral body should meet frequently in the chapter-house ("if summoned," said the Lincoln canons in 1440) to hear readings or *collations* of the holy Fathers which are read there for reformation of life and doctrine (*Statuta*, iii. 351). It was the custom for the "collation bell" to ring before Compline in Lent (i. 385).

At Lichfield, cir. 1190, after lauds of the Service for the Dead, which followed Evensong, "collation" was read by the senior Canon in the midst of the quire, before Compline, on week-days in Lent (*ibid.*, ii. 15). The reader went on till the Dean thought fit to say, "*Tu*

autem, Domine," and then he responded, "*Miserere nostri*" (ii. p. 27).

At Salisbury early in the thirteenth century a clerk of the second form read "some sermon in the collation" before Compline in Lent, and two choir boys were told off "for the candlesticks." At that date the readings were selected from the "*Liber Pastoralis Gregorii pape, qui incipit sic, 'Pastoralis cure,'*" or from the "*Dialogus eiusdem Gregorii de Miraculis SS. Patrum, qui sic incipit 'Quadam die nimis'*" (*Use of Sarum*, i. pp. 95, 100, 215, 220).¹ But the reading derived its name from the "collacio," or "*Collection of Lives of the Saints of the Scythian Desert,*" written by John Cassian after his visit to those parts, *cir.* 390-6. Notwithstanding some question as to the orthodoxy of Cassian's book, it was commended for daily reading by St. Benedict (in the forty-second chapter of his Rule); and thus it passed into our English convents and chapter-gatherings. A draught of beer was served in the "fratry" to the brethren afterwards as a kind of supper, and thus we come to speak of a cold collation, not without a side glance at the collection of broken meat from dinner.²

Clement Maydeston mentions the reading of Hamo Halberstadensis as the only book read in chapter at Salisbury after *Preciosa* (in the forenoon). *Crede Michi* § 46 (*Tracts*, p. 41). He speaks also of the "collatio," viz. a reading of *Liber Pastoralis* (§ 75, p. 48), but apparently as the alternative for Vigils of the Dead, and

¹ *Nimis*: cf. the rubric of the *Sarum Breviary*, i. p. dxciii, a good instance among many of the incorporation of the Custom-book in the rubrics.

² Cf. J. W. Clark, *Glossary to Customs of Augustinian Canons*, p. 237.

implies that it was in use in collegiate churches. While he was a scholar at Winchester he had heard the Bible-clerk read, during dinner, "Bibliam, vitas Patrum, dicta doctorum, vel aliquid S. Scripture."¹ On holidays, after dinner and supper, they sat round the fire in hall for singing or perusing "poemata, regnorum cronicas, et mundi huius mirabilia" (*Statuta Winton.*, Rub. 14, 15; and cf. the founder's gift of books). At Heytesbury, being a collegiate church, in 1220, there were the *Pastorale Gregorii*, *Liber Sermonum*, and *Decreta pontificum*, along with the usual service-books found in a parish church. When we come to a great monastery like Durham we find even in the twelfth century quite a long list of books for reading at collation (*Catal.*, pp. 9, 10).

Vitae patrum.

Diadema monachorum (by Smaragdus, cf. p. 20, A.D. 1391, bound with Aug. de Vita et Honestate Clericorum, and the Collaciones Abbatum).

Effrem, cum vitis Egiptiorum.

Paradisus.

Speculum.

Dialogus [Gregorii de Miraculis SS. Patrum].

Pastoralis [eiusdem] eximius liber.

Ysidorus de Summo Bono. (Copies given by W. de Nunnewit and Prior Thomas, pp. 8, 9).

Prosper, de Contemplativa Vita.

Liber Odonis [abbatis]. Possibly Distinctions on the Psalter, of the four Cardinal Virtues. See B. iv. 16 (5), now at Durham.

¹ At New College in 1400 the Bible alone was read in hall. At Windsor in 1484-5 there was "i. liber collacionum pro Quadragesima" (*Monast.*, vi. p. 1362).

Johannes Cassianus (*Collaciones Patrum*). Cf. pp. 69, 70, the Cloister Library, 1391.

Decem Collaciones. Two sets (ii. *paria*) of this collection are mentioned on p. 2. Were they the revised first book of Cassian? On p. 69 (1395) is mentioned "Jo. Heremita in x. collacionibus."

In the list of 1395 (pp. 69, 70) the *Collaciones* of various abbots are named: Nesteron, *de Spirituali Sciencia*; Abraham, *de Mortificatione*; Charemon, Joseph, Piamon, *de iii. generibus monachorum*; Abbatis, *de fide cenobite et heremite*; Puniphii, Theone. Also Smaragdus de Regula B. Benedicti (see Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, tom. 102; his *Diadema*, MS. Camb., Ff. iv. 43; sæc. xi.), etc.

The Priory of St. Andrew's, Cornwall, had a *Liber Collationum*, seen by Dr. Oliver (*Monast. Exon.*, p. 36), containing thirty-three homilies assigned for the days of "Clean Lent" until the "still days" of Holy Week. (See Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, i. p. clxv., who mentions the fifteenth-century MS. *Liber Collationum* of Ford Abbey, Devon, which has rubrics in English.)

The *Collaciones* (i.e. Sermones) Petri aureoli parisiensis, are in Camb. Univ. MS., II. iv. 5 (4).

There is a MS. *Liber Collationum* in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, MS. 231.

Three "collaciones de St. Radegunda" are mentioned as written at the end of the Missal at Navestock, one of the churches dependent on St. Paul's in 1251 (*Visitations*, ed. 1895, p. 22). (W.)

THE PASSIONARIUS

We come now to the books which contained the component parts of the lessons at Mattins which were combined in the *Legenda* and ultimately incorporated in the all-embracing Breviary.

At the head of that class of "ecclesiastical books" which he styles *lectionarii*, Sicardus, Bishop of Cremona, A.D. 1185-1215, in the fifth book of his *Mitræ*, or Bishop's Book, places

"*Bibliotheca* . . . magnum volumen, quod utrumque continet testamentum." Then

"*Passionarius* est in quo sunt passiones martyrum.

Legendarius, in quo est conversatio confessorum.

Homiliarius est, in quo sunt expositiones evangeliorum.

Sermologus est liber sermonum hiemalium et æstivalium.

Epistolarius et *Evangelarius* sunt partes bibliothecæ," (*i.e.* portions of the Bible), etc.

A "*Passionalis*" was given by Leofric to Exeter (*c.* 1070). An eleventh-century *Passionale* (perhaps from Worcester) with a kalendar is in the Parker MSS. (cod. 9) at Corpus. It was a Roman book, written about 1032, subsequently adapted for use in England, and contains the lives and martyrdoms of forty-three saints. At the University Library at Cambridge a Normanno-Saxon MS. of the (early) twelfth century (Ii. i. 33) contains passions of about thirty-five saints, more or less in English metre. Another (Ii. iii. 30) of the same century contains fifty-seven lives, corrected by one Hunchaldus, with three sermons on the Epiphany. (A different book, called *Passionarium*, relates to our Saviour's Passion (MS.

Hh. i. 4; li. i. 30, §2). Leofric gave a special book containing *Passiones apostolorum* to Exeter. *Passionale Sanctorum* was a common name for the "Golden Legend," and is in fact the leading title of some editions of the "*Legenda Aurea*," or "*Historia Langobardica*," the *Legenda Sanctorum* of Jacobus de Voragine or "Januensis." See, e.g., the colophon of 1516. The twelfth-century Catalogue of books in the monastery at Durham includes "*Passionales sex mensium in iiii. voluminibus*." In the Durham Catalogue of 1395 the *Passionarius* consisted of five volumes, each devoted to one, two, or three months of the year. (W.)

LEGENDARIUS

The LEGENDARIUS, devoted exclusively to the "life and conversation of holy Confessors," apart from other saints of higher "aureole," was known to Sicardus of Cremona about 1200, but we do not recollect seeing such a book in English libraries. A collection of this nature appears, however, in the old Durham Catalogue of Durham, 1395, p. 55, "P."

Out of 223 *sets* of lessons which appear in the *Sanctorale* of the York Breviary, only forty-one have their authors named (Ambrose, 1; Anselm, 3; Augustine, 6; Bede, 11; Fulbert of Chartres, 1; Gregory, 3; Jerome, 10; Leo, 3; Maximus, 1; Origen, 1; and Rabanus, 1). Of the twenty-five sets in the York *Commune*, Augustine, Bede, Fulgentius, Gregory, Jerome, and Maximus supply nineteen between them. We may assume that the remaining 182+6 sets would also have been found in their proper

places, some in the *Legendarius*, but more in the *Sermologus* and the *Homiliarius*.¹

Of the *Legenda* in its fuller and more comprehensive character we have spoken already. (W.)

THE SERMOLOGUS

A "Winter Reading-book" and two "Summer Reading-books" were given to Exeter by Leofric. These may have been used for those sets of Mattins lessons which were not to be found either in the Bible itself, or in the Passional, or in the *Homiliarius*. It seems unnecessary to add here to what we have said under the general heading of "*Legenda*." Collections of Latin sermons from the Fathers arranged for the *Temporale*, etc., are common in MSS.; e.g. St. John's Coll., Cam., MS. A. 21, *pro parte hyemali*; Jesus Coll., Cam., MS. 13 (Q.A. 13), "*Sermones de S. Maria, de Sanctis et de tempore (cum tabula), de visitacione, Item de tempore et Sanctis (cum tabula)*." At Caius College, MS. 240, § 31, contains a "*Modus et regula componendi sermones*." A book of *Sermones dominicales*, now in Cambridge University Library, MS. Gg. vi. 26, has "*Gesta Romanorum*," and an exhortation to confession bound up with it. A priest who owned it has entered in it the form of a letter of commendation for a parishioner and his wife; also the testimonial to a pilgrim, A.D. 1494. (W.)

¹ See also *Brev. Sarum*, iii. pp. xciv.-v.; *Brev. Bothanum*, p. 675.

THE HOMILIARIUS

Such expositions of the Gospel for the Day as were appointed for reading at the previous Mattins were collected from the writings of the Fathers and other theologians into a single volume, or in more than one, as in the Rievaulx book, the Cistercian Catalogue in Jesus College, Cambridge, MS. 34 (Q.B. 17), sæc. xiii., *liber omeliarum in hyeme*, and *in estate* are mentioned as bound together with a *Passionale* for several months of the year, etc. See Dr. James's *Catalogue*, p. 50. At Durham in 1395 there was a volume of *Omelie de T'empore* for the winter and another for the summer half-year; also a third (a fourteenth-century MS. still extant at Durham, MS. B. ii. 31) for the P. H. *Temporale*, containing also those for the saints from 2nd February to 29th November; and a fourth of the twelfth century (now A. i. 10), containing various homilies on the entire Gospel according to St. Matthew, with Berengar on the Apocalypse, etc. There is a twelfth-century MS. of homilies on the Gospels, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B. 3. 26, from Thurgarton Priory, Notts.¹ A book of Saxon homilies for summer half-year, written in the eleventh century, is MS. B. 15. 34 in the same library. Cambridge University MSS. li. ii. 19 and Kk. iv. 13 are two twelfth-century volumes of 126+117 *Sermones Patrum dominicales* for the two half-years, together with the sermons of Herbert de Losinga, Bishop of Norwich 1091-1119. The fifteenth-century MS., Brit. Mus., Harl. 2276, is an excellent example of the *Homiliarius* in English.

¹ See the "*Homiliarius* Karls des Grossen," by Wiegand, and Dom Morin's notes in *Revue Bénédictine*.

It contains the Gospels, for the more important occasions, in the vernacular, each succeeded by a homily, and each preceded by a plain rubrical description. The book is in quarto shape on about 150 leaves of vellum. It begins with the First Sunday in Advent, and ends with the Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity, after which is the rubric—

“Here enden the dominical gospels and of other certeyn grete feestis that ben comynli rad throuȝout the ȝeer in holi chirch.”

(W.)

LIBER VITAE AND “OBITUARY ROLLS,” ETC.

Some account of the “Golden Legend” has been already given, pp. 136–9, under the head of *Legenda*. We may proceed, therefore, to speak of the medieval lists which took the place of more primitive tablets or diptychs of the living and the dead, which still find their place in the Greek Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.¹

At Durham “there did lie on the High Altar an excellent fine book, very richly covered with gold and silver, containing the names of all the benefactors towards St. Cuthbert’s Church from the very foundation thereof, the very letters of the book being, for the most part, all gilt, as is apparent in the said book till this day,” says the writer of the “*Antient Rites and Monuments of Durham*,” about 1595. Some of the writing is in silver, and some in black.

This early ninth-century *album ecclesiae*, or *Liber Vitae*, is still extant, in the Cottonian collection of the British Museum (Domitian, A. vii.), though its precious cover is

¹ See *Hai theiai Leitourgiai*, ed. J. N. W. B. Robertson, 12°, London, 1894, pp. 304, 305, 308, 309; cf. pp. 368, 369.

lost. The text has been edited for the Surtees Society in 1841. See also H. Sweet's *Oldest English Texts* (E. E. T. Soc.), 1885.

The names of the benefactors and worthies commemorated are entered under various heads, as *Nomina Regum et Ducum*, *Reginarum et Abbatissarum*, *Anachoritarum*, *Abbatum* (classified as presbyters and deacons), *Presbyterorum*, *Diaconorum*, *Clericorum*, *Monachorum*. Entries continued to be made until 1493 or later. Sometimes the promise of a candle or other gift would be entered, with the name of a living benefactor. Once the age of Jo. Dukett de Softly, 127 years, is entered in 1431 (p. 134, fo. 79). At a much earlier date (p. 68, fo. 47) we find names of certain "servants of God and of St. Cuthbert" with the aspiration "*sit nomen eius in liber vite*," which doubtless gave the book its name (Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5, etc.; Exod. xxxii. 32; Ps. lxxix. 29). On leaf 48 are registered agreements made with Fécamp and Caen, and with eight English monasteries, and with King Malcolm and Queen Margaret of Scotland, to perform divine offices and masses, when their deaths should be announced, in return for equivalent favours.

In connexion with the Martiloge we have mentioned the existence of certain Obituary Kalendars. A few independent Obit Lists are extant. Such is the Lesser *Obituarium* of Durham (Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 1804), of which excerpts are printed as an appendix to the Surtees *Liber Vitæ*, pp. 149-52, together with extracts from the earlier Durham Obituary Kalendar and Martiloge (pp. 135-48), dating from 1175, still at Durham (B. iv. 24).¹

¹ This contains also *Consuetudines Dorobernensis Ecclesie* (Canterbury) and the Rule of St. Benet in Latin and English.

The "Book of Obits and Martyrology Book of the Cathedral Church, Dublin," was edited by J. C. Crowthwaite and J. H. Todd, 4°, 1844.

In Cambridge University Library, MS. Dd. viii. 2, is the Obituary Kalendar of the Benedictine Nuns of St. Michael's Kynton Priory, Wilts (ff. 8-20), written in 1493, at the end of which is bound (on seven leaves) the service *in commendacione Anime*, with musical notes, and *Hore B. Marie V.* Prefixed is a brief chronicle; also, forms for admission into confraternity and into the convent, an account of the property of the priory, prayers for its benefactors, etc.¹

A kalendar of the Obits of Exeter is preserved on folios i-vi of the fourteenth-century MS. of *Statuta* there, cod. 3625. There is in the British Museum an *Officium Mortuorum*, in a Psalter bequeathed by J. de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, to Isabella, daughter of King Edward III., in 1369. The initial P (to *Placebo*) was copied in facsimile by Mr. Reynolds; it represents a clerk in a cope sprinkling holy water on a corpse, recumbent on three stools, on one side of which stand two tapers. At the foot of the initial letter are two eagles, which perform the office of the linnet and the bull in the "Story of Cock Robin," one holding a taper in a candlestick, the other ringing a large handbell.

¹ In *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions* (Camb. Press, 1901) the Salisbury Cathedral Obit-Kalendar is printed from a MS. written about 1420-50; pp. 229-42.

In *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, ii. pp. ccxxxiii-ccxlvi, iii. pp. 787-99 (Camb. Press, 1897), is an account of Lincoln Minster Obit Records, the earliest of which are entered, *cir.* 1185, between the books of Job and Psalms in the great *Bibliotheca*, or Latin Bible, which has been there since about 1100. It contains also an early list of Canons of the Chapter and their order of reciting the whole Psalter among them daily.

A kalendar and list of the Obits of St. Paul's, London, written about 1390, was edited for the Camden Society by Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson in 1880, pp. 61-106, 194-202.

The *Bead-Roll* of Morebath parish, from 1520 to 1548, has been printed in *Somerset Records* (Churchwardens' Accounts), iv. pp. 210-18. For others, see Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, ii. pp. 373-8 n., ed. 1849, = ii. 301-6, ed. 1903.

In the archives at Durham there are several "Obituary Rolls," ranging in date from 1233-4 to 1484; and the like appear to have been issued from St. Alban's, Bury St. Edmunds, Barlings, Furness, Croxton, Darley, Westminster, and other monasteries.

It was the custom, upon the death of an abbot or prior, or other monk, for the convent to give a licence to some lay-brother to visit other monasteries for the space of one or two years, to exhibit their "Brief" or "Lamentation," in commendation of the deceased, and to receive a day's or night's hospitality in the different houses, while he "suppllicated" their prayers for the deceased. He would leave a slip of paper or parchment with the name of the party (often very strangely misspelt) to be pinned on the string or marker of the Martiloge (see p. 149, and ch. x.) as a reminder, while he carried off with him upon his breve, or obit-roll (called also the "mortuary-roll" or "death-bill"),¹ their written promise to give their prayers, and with a request for a reciprocity in like prayers for their own brethren departed, usually expressed in a line or two of Latin doggerel.

The lines always used by the monks of Bridlington were in prose: "Si qua nobis est expiacionis hostia, si qua victima salutaris anime, quesumus anime famuli Christi

¹ See Rock, *Ch. of Our Fathers*, ii. 380-95, = 308-19, ed. 2.

N. de M., et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum ad veniam prosit et vitam eternam. Amen. Oravimus pro vestris: Orate pro nostris." The only other houses which adopted this form were Nunkelling St. Mary's, in the same neighbourhood, and St. Mary's, Spalding. Most monasteries were content with the hackneyed line:—

"Vestris nostra damus: pro nostris vestra rogamus."

Others were:—

"Quod (or Que) dedimus vestris, et vos inpendite nostris.
Pergratum munus; sic fiet spiritus unus."

Another may be thus Englished:—

"For our dead friend a dirge shall be our song:
Our time will come, and that perhaps ere long."

The "breviator," or "brevigerulus," who carried round these missives (like the "pardoners" or "limiters"), did not always bear a very high character. One went by the name of "William the Lies-maker." He started with a sheet of parchment 9 or 10 inches broad, bearing a lamentable petition setting forth the merits of the deceased, and his need of the prayers of the living, that he might soon be delivered from the pains of purgatory, and with a blank space for the entry of titles of monasteries which would undertake to pray for him (or them). At the top was stitched a set of pictures representing (1) our Lord in majesty, surrounded by the evangelistic symbols, above the apostles and martyrs; (2) the death-bed of an abbot or prior, surrounded by monks singing the dirge, *Domine, ne in furore*, his naked soul being carried up in a sudary, by angels, to the company of confessors; and below this (3) his burial ("*De terra plasmasti me*"), one holding a taper, the officiant drawing the earth over the corpse with

a rounded mattock. These pictures, which apparently had done duty before, were cut off an older roll, and stitched on to the top of that of 1464. They have been reproduced for the Surtees Society, vol. 31, 1856. When the blanks had been filled, the "*breviator*" stitched on another membrane, and another, each somewhat narrower than the last, till they got down to 4 or 5 inches. In the course of two years he had visited many dioceses twice, and had been as far as Kent and Cornwall, Norwich and Llandaff, and Newcastle-on-Tyne and Bamburgh; he had filled eighteen or nineteen skins of parchment, back and front, with the titles of some 650 monasteries; and his scroll had grown from 5 feet to 43 feet or more, and probably the rolls of one or two other monasteries had been entrusted to him as their agent to carry them also round for signatures for the remainder of his tour.

The Mortuary Roll of the Convent of Ely, issued on the death of Bishop J. de Hotham, in 1337, has been edited with a facsimile for the Cambridge Antiq. Soc. in 1855, 8°, No. 23, Communications, i. pp. 125-39, with the *tituli* of twenty-four houses in the eastern counties. The Obituary Roll of an abbot of West Dereham was edited in 1847 by J. G. Nichols for the Archæological Institute's Meeting at Norwich, pp. 99-114. Abbot Yslyppe's roll (Westminster) is in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries.

The Durham Obituary Roll of *cir.* 1468, with others from 1233 downwards, edited by James Raine, for the Surtees Society (vol. 31), 8°. Andrews, Durham, 1856, with three facsimiles.

"*Liber Vitae ecclesiae Dunelmensis*," from the ninth-century MS., Brit. Mus., Cotton, Domitian, A. 7, "*nec non duo Obituaria ejusdem ecclesiae*," 1175, etc., edited by J. Stevenson, for the Surtees Society (vol. 13), 8°. Pickering, etc., 1841 (see H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, Early English Text Society, 1885, p. 153). (W.)

quos no bis p̄ceda tim est
 In m̄m̄m̄
 ab ori gine n̄m̄i p̄cedm̄
I conuens Joseph Attribus A
 18 et dixit pax no bis
 nolite timere pro salute enim
 vestra iussit me dominus
 ante vos p̄cedant et nocem
 cum fletu quam audierunt

A PAGE OF A FOURTEENTH CENTURY PROCESSIONAL

THIRD SUNDAY IN LENT

Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2042, leaf 29

CHAPTER IV

THE PROCESSIONAL

THIS book was called the Processional because it contained the rubrics, texts, and music which were used in processions. The Processional was not an early book. Copies dating from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries remain.

The Processional was the first service-book of which any considerable portion was translated into English for public use.¹

It would be misleading to give any connected series of extracts from a Processional as an example of the plan of the book, for the arrangement for one day often varies very considerably from that of another. The following rubrics, however, taken from different parts of the Processional, will show, in a measure, the plan and arrangement of this service-book.

“In introitu chori dicatur istud Responsorium Honor,” etc.

“In festo sancti Martini ad primas vespervas eat processio ad altare eiusdem, cantando Responsorium. Responsorium Martinus,” etc.

“In die pasce ad vespervas fiat processio ad fontes per ostium australe presbyterii cum oleo et crismate ordinata processione cum cruce et ceroferariis et thuribulario; exinde oleum et crisma a duobus dyaconis de secunda forma qui induti sint albis, deinde puer librum ferens superpellicio indutus,” etc.

¹ Bishop Kingdon, “An Early Vernacular Service,” *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.*, v. 18.

The Processional is remarkable for the fact that almost every page is filled with musical notation. At a first glance the Processional might be taken for a Hymn-book, but the briefest examination will show the two books to be quite different in reality. The rubrics of the Hymn-book are of the shortest, and virtually indicate only the occasion for the use of the hymn following; the rubrics of the Processional at times enter into detail as to occasion, place, and manner. The contents of the Processional are varied, the Hymn-book consists of one distinct collection.

The Processional had little or no ornament, and the book, probably because it was required to be carried in processions, was at no time a large volume.

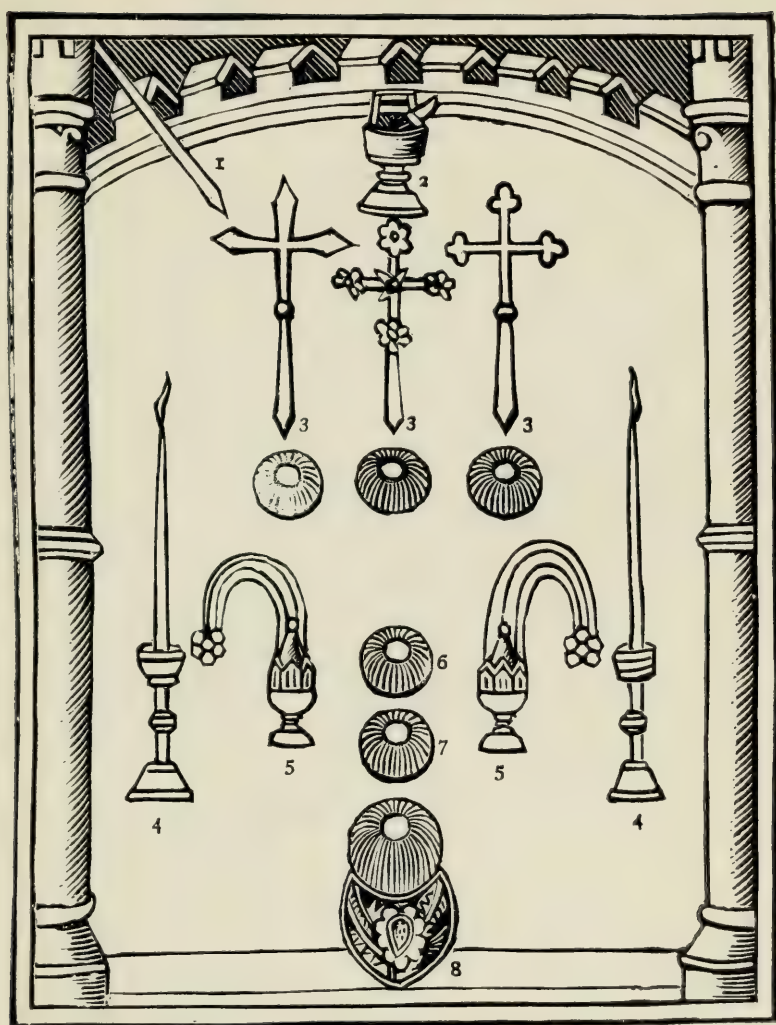
The Processional, Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 2,942, of the fourteenth century, is some eight inches high, and practically without any ornament. It has some interesting inscriptions on the flyleaves.

The Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 2,945, of the fifteenth century is very similar to that mentioned above. The writing is, however, clearer, but the first leaves are missing, the text now beginning at the "*Dominica Quarta Adventus.*" On lf. 97 is written:—

"this is John Wigthorps boke."

And on the last page, perhaps by the hand of John Wigthorp, is written:—

"Processyon into saynte bartyllmeues;
Christus resurgens.
 processyon into saynte mary's; *felix*
namque.
 processyon into saynte pancracys; *filie*
ierusalem.
 processyon into saynte James; *candidi*
facti sunt."



PROCESSION BEFORE MASS ON CHRISTMAS DAY

1. SACRISTAN WITH VIRGE. 2. BOY WITH HOLY WATER. 3, 3, 3. THREE ACOLUTES WITH CROSSES. 4, 4. TWO TAPERERS. 5, 5. TWO THURIFERS. 6. SURDEACON WITH EPISTLE-BOOK. 7. DEACON WITH GOSPEL. 8. PRIEST, IN COPE AND AMICE.

Woodcut from a printed Sarum Processional, p. 1519

No miniatures appear in the manuscript copies of the Processional: but, later on, in the printed copies, various little pictures make their appearance in the text. These pictures have a special interest of their own, and are inserted for the purpose of representing the position proper to each individual officiating in the services on certain specified occasions.

In the edition of the Sarum Processional printed in 1528 eleven of these pictures are inserted in the text. They represent, in the different views given, the censer, the holy-water pot and sprinkler, banners, book, processional cross, candles, mitre (indicating the bishop), altar, etc., etc. Four tau-shaped objects represent the staves of rulers of the choir (on Maundy Thursday). One or two plain bâtons show how the vergers are to lead away by the left hand or the right (at Rogations and Candlemas). The presence of the clergy is indicated by little circular patches representing their tonsured heads. At times some portion of the figure is given, but generally only the little circular patches appear, and these much resemble little hassocks or mops. (See Plates.)

Beneath the first little picture is printed:—

“Statio dum benedicitur aqua benedicta in omnibus dominicis diebus: et fiat modo sequenti.”

Beneath the picture on leaf xci is printed:—

“Ordo processionis in secunda feria in rogationibus. Hec sequens Antiphona dicatur a toto choro in stallis.”

Beneath the picture on leaf cxxviii are the words:—

“Statio dum benedicuntur candele in die purificationis beate marie.”

This picture, the last in the volume, is perhaps more

interesting than the others, for, in addition to the ordinary plan of arrangement, bundles of candles are depicted as placed on and near the altar.

Few service-books indicate so frequently as the Processional the presumed presence of a large staff of clergy. To what extent the rubrics of the Processional were carried out in the case of a simple parish church it is difficult to determine. The book itself does not indicate at all clearly even the ordinary Sunday morning procession in such churches.

Two of the facsimiles in the present volume represent processions, but in both cases they are processions of considerable importance, and the presence of the chief dignitary of the diocese is shown.

Manuscript copies of the Processional are somewhat rare, the later printed copies are more common. The *editio princeps* of the Sarum Processional, printed in 1502, exists in a copy on vellum, now at St. John's College, Oxford.

The text of the York Processional was edited with its music by Dr. W. G. Henderson (now Dean of Carlisle) for the Surtees Society, in 1875, as part of the volume containing the York Manual, pp. 133-207.

The text of the Sarum Processional was privately printed, under Dr. W. G. Henderson's editorship, at Leeds, 1882, from the edition of 1508, printed at Rouen, which appears to have been the second edition printed. He reproduces twelve woodcuts from the edition of 1508, and one from that of 1528. We give a specimen of each.

In 1901 Mr. Wordsworth edited for the Cambridge Press a large fragment of a Procession-book written specially for cathedral use at Salisbury, with the missing



ASCENSION DAY PROCESSION

1. THE LION BANNER. 2. 2. OTHER BANNERS IN ORDER. 3. THE DRAGON.
4. 4. TWO CLERKS OF THE SECOND BENCH, IN COPES, BEARING A RELIQUARY.
5. 5. TWO THURIFERS

Woodcut from a printed Sarum Processional, 40, 1502, 1508, &c.

portions supplied from other Sarum books. He was allowed, by the Dean of Carlisle's courtesy, to reproduce the set of woodcuts, with the addition of a key to their meaning. He also included in his volume a revised list of some sections of Dickinson's and Stewart's *List* of existing copies of *Service-books of English Use*, viz. *Sarum Processionale*; *York Processionale*; *Graduale Sarum*; *Manuale*, *Sacra Institutio Baptizandi*, etc., Mr. Bradshaw and Mr. Jenkinson having previously revised those sections which relate to the Breviary, etc. (L.)

CHAPTER V

BOOKS FOR THE ALTAR SERVICE OF THE MASS

THE SACRAMENTARY AND MISSAL

THE great books of the Merovingian and Carolingian epochs were Bibles, Psalters, Gospels, and Sacramentaries.¹

From the eleventh century, Missals were formed by incorporating the Grail, the Epistle-book or Lectionary, and the Gospel-book, with the Sacramentary.

M. Léopold Delisle, to whom we are indebted for the foregoing statement, has described a number of Sacramentaries from the seventh² to the eleventh century. Those formerly used in England are not found in writing earlier than the latter part of the tenth century. Monsignor Duchesne ascribes to Pépin le Bref (Mayor of the Palace in 741, King of France 752-68) the abolition of the Gallican liturgy. Charlemagne (who became king

¹ *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*, par M. Léopold Delisle (Mémoires de l'Académie, 4°, Paris, 1886, tom. xxxii. part i. p. 57).

² Ascribed to seventh-century writing are the "Leonine Sacramentary," in Verona Chapter Library, edited by Mr. Feltoe in 1896; possibly the "Gelasian" Sacramentary, among the Queen of Sweden's MSS. in the Vatican, edited by the Rev. H. A. Wilson in 1894; the "Bobbio Sacramentary." Mr. H. M. Bannister has recently described some fragments of Irish Sacramentaries (*cir.* 848-1200) in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*, v. No. 17, pp. 49-75.

huius diei solamur in honor
solum confessor nior atq; pon
tifiu mardo et gilardi conse
crati: ad isto familie nre pmbus
et dona: ut quorum festa celebra
mus. eorum memis et auxiliis
subleuamur. per dominu. Epila
plures facti sunt. Et dactoms
nus. Alldupa. vifilgebunt nifi.

Respice quis dicit. tabur.
domine populi tuum ad
tua sanamanta amant. et pre
sentem fithiuitate solum confes
sorum niorum atq; pontifiu
mardo et gilardi: ut quod in
honor nri hominis imitauerit.
nimis proficiat ad uia. per.

Com ego uos. postcom.
kaas tibi agimus do
mum mis ut qui nos mela nre
ita ipair dignatus es: ta quis
patatis nris uia. sicut leas
confessoris tuis atq; pontificibus
mardo et gilardo adisti solum
pontificatis. per dominu.

Gaudamus confes. offic.
omnis in domino diu fel
cium celebrans. sub honor omidi
pifilis. et nris translaone gaudet
an. di. et collaudant filium m. ps.

Eultrare nifi in domino.
Eus qui nos tran ad or.
mundi confessoris atq; pontifi
as translaone diu celebrare
concedis. et supplicat exoramus;
ut aus memis et pmb; a uia
ad uirtutes. et a caute transla

nur ad ingium. per dominu.
Armonia de mib; primo et felur.

Nos quidamus. Or.
domine solum nre tuo
rum primi et feliaam saup
festa letan: quorum suffragis
promotionis nre dona capiamus.
per dominu. Epila eor sacros
magnus qui in uita sua. Et.
Domine piamist. Alldupa. Ite
edmundus pauper et modicus al
dies ingredit vmpnis celebris
honorat. sep. Alma cohois. euu.

Homo quidam. Offic. Or.
Eus qui. S. m. nras nra.
pauam et vnu in corpus
nium et sanguine mela imedir
noir conuatis. conat nobis per
marta tran edmundi confessoris
atq; pontificis: ut ad niam nu
semordia mirtutes. nio triepa
ato conformari. per dominu.

Har dicit. S. m. de mib;.
quidamus hostia sagra
ta placabilis pmosor mela
te nre tuou primi et feliaam:
que per eorum marta glorio sa
et parata nra punitat. et nior
nbi tota consilia famulor. p
dominu. Com. Eas senuis

Eus qui tran. Postcom.
edmundi confessor tu
um atq; pontific a supplis
ad gaudia translaone. mbur q
sumus: ut qui aus translaone
marta in mris. per aus pato
anui ad mela translaone.

Pd. Alia postcom. de mib;.
Edimus omis mis

with Carloman in 769, and in 771 sole king, and emperor from 800 to 814) did much to secure the supremacy of the "Gregorian" Sacramentary (the Sacramentary of Pope Hadrian, *cir.* 784-91) by having copies multiplied, as did his successors.

In this country, in the days of Theodore of Tarsus (668-90), if not in the time of his first predecessor, St. Augustine (597-604), the mixture of Gallican and Roman rites was sanctioned. But the books of that character—at least the Sacramentaries—appear to have perished, having become obsolete upon the establishment of books of pure Gregorian character.

The Prayer-books or liturgical manuals which remain to us from the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries are naturally few, and those few are relics of the Celtic Church. Three or four Gospel-books, which the early missionaries carried about with them, and in which the spare leaves were utilised in remote ages for the entry of services for the sick and dying, etc., sometimes with vernacular Celtic rubrics of great interest, still survive. Prayer-books or hymn-books of a semi-liturgical character, such as the so-called "Bangor Antiphoner" (County Down, *cir.* 685) and the "Book of Cerne," or Prayer-book of Bishop Ædeluald, a Mercian MS., *cir.* 830, have both been happily placed within our reach, the latter with a print from the eighth-century Brit. Mus. MS. Royal, 2 A. xx. So also the eighth- or ninth-century "Book of Nunnaminster (St. Mary's, Winchester). But the Collectarius or Capitularius, known as the "Durham Ritual" of the ninth and tenth centuries, needs critical re-editing. The eighth-century Psalter, with ninth-century A.S. gloss, (Brit. Mus. MS., Cotton, Vesp. A. 1), was edited for the

Surtees Soc. in 1843-7, and it has been carefully re-edited by Mr. H. Sweet, in 1885, among *Oldest English Texts*. Other Psalters are in course of editing for E. E. Text Soc. There is a tenth-century Psalter, Brit. Mus. MS., Harley, 603. But none of these are Sacramentaries.

We come then to the Stowe Missal, the Leofric Sacramentary, that of Robert of Jumièges (*cir.* 1008-23), written at Newminster, Winchester. The Winchester Missal, written in the eleventh century, now at Worcester. The Red Book of Derby. The Missal, MS. Cotton Vitellius, A. xviii. That of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The so-called "Liber S. Cuthberti" at Sidney Sussex College. The Winchester Missal of Havre; these two of the twelfth century. And later, the Rosslyn, Drummond Castle, and Corpus Missals.

The Stowe Missal, as described and edited by the Rev. F. E. Warren, contains: The Gospel according to St. John; Ordinary and Canon of the Mass (the Canon ascribed to Gelasius); A Mass in honour of Apostles, Martyrs, and Virgins; A Mass for Penitents; A Mass for the Departed; Order of Baptism; Order for Visitation, Unction, and Communion of the Sick; an old Irish treatise on the Eucharist, and three charms in Irish.¹

The Leofric Sacramentary, given by that Bishop to his church at Exeter about 1050, is a composite volume, consisting of (1) an early tenth-century Gregorian Sacramentary brought to this country from Arras in the time of Edward the Confessor. It consists of 318 Masses and the Canon, as well as services for burial and "commendation" of the Dead, Ordination services, various "consecrationes" and benedictions, "reconciliationes,"

¹ The Stowe Missal will be photographed for H. Bradshaw Soc.

service for Marriage, Baptism, Coronation, and all such matters as would find place in the later "*Manuale*." (2) An Anglo-Saxon Kalendar, with paschal tables, etc., written in the south of England about 970, was probably acquired by Leofric after he came over, and was inserted in the Sacramentary. (3) A collection of miscellaneous Masses, together with the entry of some manumissions of serfs, and historical notes, made in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This Sacramentary was edited by Mr. Warren for the Clarendon Press in 1883.

The Red Book of Derby has some Breviary offices from the *Commune Sanctorum*, as well as portions of the Missal and Manual. Oaths taken upon this volume "in the peake of Darbyshire" were supposed to have a very solemn character, and if one perjured himself upon it he "should run madd."

The Missal of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, as its editor, Mr. Rule, supposes, was written about 1099 by a scribe who had before him one of the precious *libri missi a sancto Gregorio*, with corrections in the great Pope's hand. One remarkable feature in the book is the erasure of many of the Proper Prefaces, which here (as in some other old Missals) were numerous. There were (if I mistake not) originally as many as 146 prefaces. No less than 105 of these were erased, and nineteen others obelised, leaving but twenty-two untouched, and perhaps ten of these narrowly escaped deletion. The spaces cleared by erasures were subsequently filled with extracts from the Gregorian Antiphonary.

We have decided to omit here a list of Sacramentaries, etc., and of later Missals which we had drafted, as somewhat beyond our present scope. We will content ourselves

with directing the reader to the text (and specimen facsimiles) of the *Westminster Mass Book* (of *cir.* 1370) in the Henry Bradshaw Society's series, 3 vols., 1891-6, with Dr. Legg's masterly liturgical notes in *fascic.* iii. It has the advantage over other Missals in containing the Westminster speciality of the Coronation and Royal Obsequies.

When we come to the introduction of printing, which very early was applied to liturgy—witness such printers' terms as "*brevier*," "*large pica*," "*long prymer*," "*gross kanon*," etc.—we find at least sixty-six different impressions of the *Sarum* Missal known to have been printed between 1487 and 1557.

Five editions of *York* Missal have survived to modern times, printed between 1509 and 1533.

Only one edition of the *Hereford* Missal is known, four copies of it having survived, two of them being printed on vellum, in 1502.

The Missals of other English Uses, such as Lincoln and Bangor, Ely, Exeter, Lichfield, etc., were probably never printed. The MSS. may have sufficed until the *Sarum* Use became paramount. Or in some cases the printed *Sarum* book may have been adopted, and only the most necessary alterations and additions made by hand-writing.

An Exeter inventory of 1327 records the existence there of a *missale de usu ignoto*, and of a *manuale*, likewise of some unknown Use. Of five of the Collectars in the same list it is specified that "*non sunt de usu*" (Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, I. xxiv, xxv).

Mr. Edmund Bishop has some weighty observations on some early MSS. of the *Gregorianum* in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1903, iv. No. 15, pp. 411-26.

His short paper on *The Genius of the Roman Rite* (*Weekly Register* Office, 1899 and 1902, price 1*d.*), no less than his admirable "note" on Dom Kuypers's *Book of Cerne*, 1902, pp. 234-83, 4°, is the result of many years' study and consideration.

We will now give a full description of a MS. illuminated Missal of Sarum Use which appears to have been hidden in a farmhouse in Leicestershire, on the Hinckley and Barwell estate, on the abolition of the Latin services after the death of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, and only discovered when extensive repairs were done to the house in 1852.

The book appears to have been written about the year 1405 for someone bearing the arms of Appleyard,¹ a family well known in Yorkshire, Norfolk, and, at least in the seventeenth century, in Cambridgeshire. The chevron, or, between three owls argent, membred or, on a shield azure, is four times repeated on the leaves, which are most highly ornamented, viz. at the opening of the *Proprium de Tempore*, and thrice in the Canon of the Mass (on the full-page illustration representing the Crucifixion, of which we give an uncoloured facsimile, and our Saviour enthroned, and on the page where "*Te igitur*" begins). "Midson," or "Higson" is on the top edge.

The book, which is now the property of H. H. Peach, Esq., Stoughton Road, Stoneygate, Leicester, has lost its original cover through damp and other causes. Rats have somewhat gnawed the margin, but their Hanoverian principles have probably led them to eschew the text, so

¹ One Edmund Appilizerd was admitted into the Jesus Guild in St. Paul's 14th August, 1489. See St. Paul's Eccl. Soc. *Proceedings*, vol. iii. p. xxv.

that the book is practically complete, having lost only one leaf (in the twenty-first quire), which must have been originally left blank or else embellished with a miniature. It contained 414 leaves (or upwards of 820 pages), besides the four flyleaves, all of vellum, stitched in gatherings of eight leaves apiece, excepting three four-leaf quires, viz. the twentieth and twenty-first, occurring just before the Canon, and the fiftieth, which follows the service of the Dead.

It belonged to a person of distinction, bearing the arms mentioned above, in a church dedicated 14th March, as the original entry in the kalendar ("c. *ij Id^{us} Dedicacō eccl'ie de hameldoñ.*") shows, possibly in honour of St. Audrey or Etheldreda, whose weekly commemoration, along with that of the [Blessed Virgin and] All Hallows (and the heading for that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, apparently never actually entered),¹ was added on a flyleaf at the beginning. This shows that at least at the time when these entries were made the book was being used either in a church of St. Etheldreda, of which there are only about twelve known in England,² or else somewhere in the Ely diocese; but the former supposition seems most probable. The places formerly spelled "Hameldon" are about six in number,³ but the fact that St. Hugh of Lincoln

¹ If entered it would probably have been erased about November, 1538, but I see no signs of such treatment on this leaf.

² SS. *Etheldreda and Peter*, at Ely, and Mundham, Norfolk; St. *Audrie's*, Quantoxhead, Somerset; St. *Etheldreda's*, Totteridge, and Bishop's Hatfield, Herts; Guilsborough, Northamptonshire; W. Halton, Lincs.; Histon, Cambs.; Horley, Oxon.; Hyssington, dio. Hereford; Norwich and Thetford, Norfolk.

³ St. Mary's, or St. Bartholomew's, Hambleton, near Henley; St. Andrew's, Hambleton, Rutland, both in the old diocese of Lincoln; St. Peter and St. Paul, Hambleton, near Cosham, dio. Winton; St. Mary's, Hambleton, near Preston, old dio. of Coventry and Lichfield; St. Peter's,



A PAGE FROM THE HAMBLEMEDON MISSAL.

MS. cir. 1105, the property of H. H. Peach, Esq., Leicester. Sig. 2, before the Canon of the Mass

is specially distinguished in the kalendar of this Missal, his name (on November 21st, probably by accident) being the only one which is honoured by rubrication, besides the great scriptural saints and principal holy days, the Dedication of Hameldon Church, St. George, Holy Rood days, St. Laurence, All Hallows, St. Nicholas, and St. Thomas of Canterbury's, leads us to suppose that the book was intended for use within the great diocese of Lincoln. And it is worthy of notice that in the body of the book (fo. 60b) the Service for the translation of St. Hugh, with "*Officium. Statuit ei,*" etc., duly appears, and on the previous page the rubric is added :—

"Notandum est quod ubi non celebretur translacio s. hugonis, ut in alijs locis extra lincoln dioc'. , dicitur missa de s̃ca Fide uirgine, hoc modo. Off. Loquebar," etc.

I have said that St. Hugh's name was accidentally placed on the 21st (instead of the 17th) of November. Probably the scribe had copied his kalendar from some old Sarum book which was written before St. Hugh was canonised. Then, having finished drafting the page, he put in the saint's name on the morrow of St. Edmund, but his eye must have been caught by *the wrong St. Edmund*, "R." instead of "Ep." St. Hugh's later feast ("*Translacio s̃ci hugonis epi. ix lec.*") also appears in the kalendar at October 6th, though written in black ink. Ordinary Sarum Missals do not contain this entry at all, though it is in the kalendar of *Directorium Sacerdotum*, 1488, 1495, etc., but in the text of the Pye, or in Clement Maydeston's

Hambleton, near Godalming, dio. Winton. There is also Hamilton in Barkby, Leicester, old dio. of Lincoln. St. Denys' Stoke, under Ham'den, and St. Mary's, Norton under Ham'den (*olim* "Hameldon"), co. Somerset, dio. Bath and Wells.

Tracts, no notice of St. Hugh is taken except for his November festival.

I do not know whether the church dedication of Hamilton in Barkby is known. That of Hambleden, Bucks (spelt "Hameldene" in 1264, as the Rev. A. H. Stanton informs me), formerly in Lincoln diocese, is now said to be "St. Mary's," and formerly (by Lipscomb) "St. Bartholomew's." Hambleton (near Oakham), which retained the spelling "Hamelden" as late at least as 1680, is close to Leicestershire, and is still in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, who have communal property there. It may seem bold to conjecture that the title of St. *Andrew's* Church,¹ "S. Andree," is due to some (perhaps seventeenth-century) misreading of "St. Audrie"; but I have found some support for my boldness in the fact that just such a change *has* actually taken place at Totteridge, Herts, where the old "St. Etheldreda's" has become in modern times "St. Andrew's" Church. I therefore incline to think that the book may have been used in the Rutland parish.

Its contents may be thus described:—

KALENDARIUM of Sarum Use, with St. Hugh's name in red, in November, and his Translation, and the Dedication of "Hameldoñ" Church on March 14th. Six leaves. [The "Visitation," "Transfiguration," "Holy Name," St. Etheldreda and St. Frideswide later festivals added, perhaps in 1480.]²

¹ Or, as the Rev. B. Barrett, formerly Vicar of Hambledon, Rutland, informs me, it is sometimes said to be St. *Peter* and St. *Andrew's* Church. "St. Peter and St. Andrew" is the dedication of two other churches, Ely and Mundham.

² It is noteworthy that the rubric of the *York* Missal (ii. 216) testifies that Ro. Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury, offered an indulgence for singing Mass of the Mellifluous Name of Jesus, from his Castle at Sherborne, as early as 7th August, 1411. This Mass is the same as was subsequently printed in the

Benedictio Aque, for Sundays.

TEMPORALE, from Advent to Palm Sunday, with rubrics collected from the Sarum Grail, Processioner, and Customary.¹ *Benedicamus*, *Gloria in excelsis*, and *Credo* (cum nota) (ff. 1-142). Easter Even. *Pueri Hebreorum*. *Gloria, laus et honour*. *Rex noster* (sine nota). *Ite, missa est* (cum nota).

Prefaciones (cum nota).

CANON MISSE, with two full-page miniatures of (1) the Crucifix, Mary, and John, and (2) our Lord in Glory amid the Four Living Creatures of the Apocalypse, bearing the names of the Four Evangelists.

[*Missa pro Pontifice*, added in a later hand.]²

TEMPORALE (continued) from Easter to the end of Trinity season. *Dedicacio Ecclesie*. *Missa in Consecracione et in Reconciliacione Ecclesie* (ff. 1-41).

SEQUENCIARIVM de Temporalibus, per annum (ff. 41b; 1-10b; 11 and 12 nearly blank).

PROPRIUM DE SANCTIS (ff. 1-72b).

COMMUNE SANCTORUM (*proprium servitium non habentium*).

MISSE VOTIVE:—

de Commemoracione beate Marie.	pro Pace.
de Trinitate.	pro Defunctis.
de Cruce.	pro Serenitate aeris.
de Spiritu Sancto.	ad pluuiam postulandum.
de Angelis.	in tempore belli.
<i>Salus Populi</i> , pro fratribus et sororibus.	in quacumque tribulacione.

Sarum books. A similar note as to Bishop Hallum occurs in a Sarum Missal at St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. G. 34, at the beginning, after the "Missa de Quinque Vulneribus."

¹ There are two vellum markers, or thumb-registers, inserted at the fore-edge of the *Temporale*, at fo. 58 (Ash Wednesday) and fo. 66 (the Ember Wednesday in Lent). For two others see below.

² i.e. *Secretum* ("Suscipe, quesumus") and *Postcommunio* ("Subjectum tibi"); the collect, *Oracio* ("Rege, quesumus") being already in the text. "Secretum" is the form usual in this MS. for the "Secreta oracio."

ORACIONES :—

Oracio de omnibus sanctis.	pro Rege et Regina.
Oracio pro Papa.	pro seipso.
Oracio pro vniuersali Ecclesia.	pro amico.
Oracio pro Rege.	pro amico speciali.

ORACIONES COMMUNES :—

Pro femina famula [Dei].	Contra aereas potestates.
Contra temptationes carnis.	Pro eo qui in vinculis detinetur. ¹
Contra cogitationes malas.	Pro infirmo.
Ad inuocandum gratiam Sancti Spiritus.	Contra inuasores.
Pro petitione lacrimarum.	Pro tribulatione cordis.
Pro penitentibus.	Pro benefactoribus viuus, uel
Pro mortalitate hominum.	Pro salute.
Pro iter agentibus.	Contra aduersantes.
Pro penitente.	Pro semetipso.

PRO DEFUNCTIS : Missa de *Requiem*.²

ORACIONES GENERALES pro Defunctis, in feriis quadragesime.²

[EXCERPTA EX PROCESSIONALI :—]

In Nocte Epyphanie, leccio genealogii, cum nota.

In Die Ascensionis,

In Die Pentecostes,

In Die S. Trinitatis,

In festo Corporis Christi,

} ad Processionem.

Missa pro Mortalitate hominum.³

In Vigilia Pasche :—

<i>Exultet</i> , cum nota.	Ordo ad Catechuminum faci-
Benedicchio Fontis.	endum.
Letania Quinquepartita.	Baptizacio Puerorum.
Benedicchio Olei.	

¹ Pro incarcerato, ed. 1557.

² Two thumb-registers, or markers of vellum, are here attached, to enable the priest to turn to the Mass and Prayers for the Dead with ease.

³ This Mass in time of plague or prevalent mortality is naturally placed here, because Wednesday and Friday litanies and processions were often ordered at such times.

[EXCERPTA EX MANUALI :—]

Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia.

Ordo ad servicium Peregrinorum faciendum.

Benedicchio Pere et Baculi.

Missa pro iter agentibus.

Benedicchio ad omnia que volueris.

[APPENDIX MISCELLANEORUM :—]

Oracio Sancti Augustini dicenda a sacerdote, *Summe Sacerdos*.

Letanie breues ad benedictionem fontis.

Dominica in Ramispalmarum, ad stacionem. *En, Rex uenit.* Item, *Gloria, laus et honor.*

Later additions to the manuscript have been made on the flyleaves. At the beginning, on pp. 2 and 3,—

Weekly commemoration services for the use of a church having what Caxton styled in his famous advertisement, a Pye “of thre” (not two) “commemoracions of Salisburi vse.” These are (1) for Saturdays :—

* *In commemoracione omnium sanctorum.*

Ad missam, Officium. Timete Dominum, *vt in communi plurimorum martyrum* (Missale Sarum, p. 682 *).

Oracio. Deus, qui nos beate Marie semper virginis et omnium sanctorum tuorum continua commemoracione letificas, presta, quesumus, vt que deuoto ueneramur officio, eciam pie conuersacionis sequamur exempla.

Epistola. Reddet Deus. *Gradale.* Exultabunt sancti.

Alleluia. Mirabilis Deus. *Evangelium.* Videns Ihesus turbas. *Offertorium.* Letamini Domino. *Secreta.* Munera nostra tibi, Domine, etc. [cf. Missale Sarum, p. 699 *]. *Communio.* Justorum anime. *Postcommunio.* Fac nos, quesumus, Domine, sancte Marie semper virginis subsidijs attolli, et gloriosa omnium sanctorum tuorum proteccionem defendi, ut omnium [?] eorum commemoracionem agimus, eorum pariter cotidie ab omnibus aduersis protegatur, per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum Filium, etc.

* Flyleaf 1b.

* *Odi preuaricantes*.¹

(2. Of St. Audrey) :—[DEVS, qui] eximie castitatis priuilegio beatissimam virginem tuam Etheldredam multipliciter decorasti; tribue, quesumus, vt, sicut eius commemoracio nobiscum agitur in terris, ita per eius interuentum nostri memoria apud te semper habeatur in celis. Per Dominum [cf. the Collect for St. Cuthburga, in *Missale Sarum*, p. 889].

[*Secreta*.] Sanctifica, quesumus, Domine omnipotens Deus, per tui sancti nominis invocacionem, huius muneris oblacionem; et, sancte Etheldrede virginis tue interuenientibus meritis, ad nostre prosperitatis municulum peruenire concedas sempiternum [cf. *Missale Sarum*, 777* for the opening of the prayer].

[*Postcommunio*.] Gregem tuum, quesumus, pastor eterne, paterna benedictione sanctifica; et, dilecte virginis tue Etheldrede suffragantibus meritis, per hec sancta, que sumpsimus, ab omnium nostri impugnatoris incursu defende, per [Christum Dominum nostrum].

(3.) “*Thomas*.” (This rubricated title seems to have been designed to direct the insertion of the weekly Mass of the *Commemoracio S. Thome martiris*, usually said on Tuesday when otherwise disengaged from services of obligation. See my *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, 118, 131, 175, 180, 280.)

These Commemoration Masses do not appear in the *Sarum Missale* which Mr. Dickinson reprinted, although he mentions in his Introduction that the Commemoration of St. Thomas is added at the end of Pynson’s folio Missals of 1512 and 1520. Our collect in Commemorations of All Hallows (*Deus qui nos*) is the same as that which I have printed from the Breviary *Commemoracio Omnium Sanctorum* from the St. John’s College, Cambridge, MS. H. 13. (*Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, p. 191.)

* Flyleaf 1a.

¹ This rubricated heading or motto seems to be founded on Psalm cx. 3 (=ci. 4).

On a flyleaf at the other end of the volume has been added at a still later date, and probably only a short time before the book was put into concealment, the *Missa pro Regina pregnante*, which was prematurely ordered to be used about December, 1554, when Philip and Mary were hoping to leave a direct heir to the crown of England.

This *missa in expectatione partus Regine* is preceded by another Mass for a person going on pilgrimage or crusade to the Holy Land, and it was entered on what was the last (blank) leaf of the book itself, I suppose about 1490. The prayers appear as part of the "Trental of St. Gregory" in *Missale Sarum*, pp. 883*, 884*, and begin thus:—

Oracio.

DEVS, summa spes nostre redemptionis, qui in terra promissionis ante omnes terras nasci elegisti, etc.

Secret'. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, redemptor animarum, etc.

Postcommunio. Deus, cuius misericordie non est numerus, etc.

Then follows the entry of December, 1554, on a flyleaf of vellum.

Pro regina pregnante.

Oratio.

EXAUDI, . . . tuorum pro ancilla tua Maria, Regina nostra, maiestati . . . supplicantium: ut . . . concipere et iam pregnantem fieri decreuisti: ita ipsam (suo tempore) omni periculo liberare, dolores pariendi mitigare, et prolem (ad populi tui leticiam nominisque tui gloriam) incolumem seruare digneris per dominum. [Otherwise as in *Missale Sarum*, p. 846*.]

Secreta. Adesto, . . . offerimus pro famula tua Maria, Regina nostra, quam pregnantem effici (tua prouidentia) voluisti, placatus, etc. [Otherwise as *Missale Sarum*, p. 839*.]

Postcommunio. Domine, Jesu Christe, qui absque doloris contagione ex vtero virginali purissime matris tue in mundum (sanctissima porta clausa) exire dignatus es; concede propicius,

ut fructus ancille tue Marie, Regine nostre, iam pregnantis, in hanc lucem ita sanus et incolumis (tua benedictione disponente) edatur, ut ad sacri nominis tui laudem, in fonte baptismatis, regenerationis gratiam, et ad populi tui leticiam, prospere et longeuæ vite beneficium consequatur. Qui viuus et regnas [cf. *Missale*, p. 847*, the Secret "*Piissime*"].

Although this Missal was written for use in Lincoln diocese, it is of Sarum Use, and there are some direct references thereto.

After the colour rubric (see *Missale Sarum*, p. 583), the order for saying the General Confession at Mass is given in detail, after which is added this rubric :—

"*Hee† preces predictæ dicuntur a quibusdam in ecclesia Sarum non : sed statim post Absolucionem dicitur Adiutorium nostrum. Qui fecit. Sit nomen. Ex hoc. Dominus vobiscum. Deinde statim post deosculetur sacerdos diaconum, et postea subdiaconum dicens, Habete osculum pacis et dilectionis*" (fo. 2b).

In the *Sanctorale* (fo. 17b) :—

"*In annunciatione beate Marie, duplex tantum, in quacunque feria contigerit, ubi ecclesia dedicata est in honore illius, sic ut ecclesia sarum. Ad processionem Christi virgo. In redeundo, de omnibus sanctis, Antiphona. Saluator mundi.*"

(fo. 34b) : "*Notandum est quod proxima dominica post festum translacionis sancti thome martiris celebratur festum reliquiarum Sarum ecclesie quod nuper celebratum fuerat in oct. beate marie*" (cf. *Missale Sarum*, p. 806 ; Maydeston's *Tracts*, p. 72 n.)¹

The Hambledon Missal, like many others, has some of the liturgical lessons written with musical notation throughout, as well as the musical phrases where necessary, and the various settings of "*Benedicamus*," "*Ite missa est*," etc.

If the owner of this Missal had been a parish priest in

¹ In early days the Sarum Feast of Relics had been at a less convenient time. About 1150 it was changed to September 17th ; and in 1319 it was again altered to the Sunday after July 7th.

the diocese of Lincoln, he would probably have got it passed as a *Missale cum nota, bonum et sufficiens* at any Visitation held by the Bishop or by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln in their peculiar jurisdiction. He would moreover have found it to be a very serviceable book.

It is somewhat fuller, both in its rubrics and in its general contents, than the Sarum Missals which were printed about a century later than this was written. It would have enabled him to take his part in singing Mass, and also in performing the offices usually contained in the *Processionale*. Its possession would obviate the necessity for his using such a book as the last-named, and probably also it would have served him instead of a *Grail* or *Graduale*; and so far as christenings and weddings went (as well as for the commonest of his sacerdotal benedictions) it supplied the Occasional Offices from the *Manuale*, with one exception. He would still require a leaflet for the *Ordo ad Purificandum Mulierem post partum*, an office which might indeed just as well have been introduced into this Mass-book (as it was afterwards in some of the sixteenth-century editions of the *Missale*), between the Marriage Services and those of the Blessing of Pilgrims.

The Funeral Mass is (I believe) contained in the manuscript, but not the *Inhumacio Defuncti* in the churchyard. Doubtless the *Officium Mortuorum* ("Placebo," and Dirge), the *Commendacio*, etc., were in his Breviary, or Portos, the only other book which the owner of the Hambledon Missal would absolutely require for his duties in the church.

For the Offices for the Visitation, Unction, and Communion of the Sick and Dying, he may perhaps have required his clerk to keep a little book ready to carry with

his bell and lantern before the Reserved Host and the Holy Oil for such emergencies.

One rubric in the book is specially noticeable. It occurs in the *Benedicció Olei* on Maundy Thursday (fo. 126b in the *Temporale*), for it does not ordinarily occur in the text of Sarum Use. It runs thus :—

“*De olei consecratione plenius notatur in ordinali Well’ : in fine.*¹ *Tres presbiteri ante olei consecrationem simul cantent hunc ymnum in superpelliceis ad gradum chori O Redemptor.*”

On comparing the printed editions with the above we find, as regards their general contents, that they supply a good many items which are not contained in the Hambleton Missal. Some of them were not as yet introduced into the books at the beginning of the fifteenth century. We append a list :—

Tables to find Easter (p. 3*), and other Moveable Feasts (6**).

Extracta e compoto (9**).

Regule secundum paruum compotum ecclesie Romane (10**).

“*Quando clauditur tempus nuptiarum : et quando aperitur, nota in his versibus sequentibus.*

Aspiciens veterem, circum, qua, quis, benedicta.

¹ The *Ordinale et Statuta Ecclesie Cathedralis Sancti Andree Welleñ* appear to have been compiled about 1240, and a copy was entered in the *Liber Ruber* at Wells about 1315. There is a transcript (A.D. 1634) at Lambeth (MS. 729). An earlier, though mutilated, copy (*cir.* 1500), which came to be known afterwards as the “Creyghton MS.,” probably after Ro. Creyghton, who was Treasurer (1632), Dean (1660), and Bishop (1670–2), was restored to the Dean and Chapter of Wells by Admiral Ryder about fifteen years ago, having probably been taken from the Deanery by mistake when Bishop Ryder’s books went to Lichfield. It had narrowly escaped total destruction, as a Canon, about 1750, had thought it his duty to hand it over to Mr. Tudway, Mayor of Wells, as a “superstitious book,” coming within the Act of 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 10. The “*Modus vel ordo crismatis faciendi, viz. in Die Cene,*” has been duly printed from the end of the *Ordinale* on pp. 105–8 of Mr. H. E. Reynolds’ folio, *Wells Cathedral* (1881).

Coniugium vetat aduen., hylariusque relaxat.

Septuagena velat, octauum pasche relaxat."

(ed. Regnault, 4°, 1527.)

¶ After the Kalendar :—

De vita humana bene instituenda.

"*Mane Deo vitam commendet vir bonus omnem*" (35*).

Benediccion panis in diebus Dominicis (35**).

¶ After the *Temporale* :—

Oracio preambula ad canonicum servicium septem horarum (561).

Oraciones in missis dicende pro bono felici ac prospero statu christianissimi atque excelentissimi regis nostri Henrici VII.

"*Quesumus, omnipotens et misericors Deus, vt rex.*"

"*Munera, quesumus, Domine oblata.*"

"*Hec, quesumus, Domine, Salutaris*" (561).

Speculum (*siue* "Instruccio") sacerdotum, missam celebrare volentium. "*Primo ante missam*" (563).

Bernardus dicit, "*O sacerdos, corpus tuum*" (566).

[Then follows the prayer of "Augustine," or Anselm, "*Summe sacerdos*," see p. 181 ; (565), (567).]

Dictamen B. Augustini. "*Viri venerabiles*" (569).

Oraciones iiij deuote ante missam : "*Deus, qui de indignis*" (two forms ; the latter mentioning the congregation present, and other friends, etc.) (573).

"*Domine, non sum dignus*" (574).

"*Obsecro te, piissime*" (575).

Oracio de sacramento altaris.

"*Omnipotens et misericors Deus, ecce accedo*" (two recensions of this) (576).

Preparaciones ad missam (577).

¶ After the Canon of the Mass :—

Oraciones .vi. post missam :—

"*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, conseruator.*"

"*Omnipotens s. Deus, Jesu Christe.*"

"*Gratias tibi ago, Domine Deus omnipotens.*"

("Presbyter in Christi mensa quid agis bene pensa.")

"Gratias ago tibi, dulcissime Domine."

"Gratias tibi ago, Domine Jesu Christe."

"Omnipotens s. Deus misericordissime" (639).

Oracio ad impetrandum bonum finem, ac remissionem peccatorum, tam pro se quam pro amicis: "Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens qui iustis" (642).

Alia. "Deus misericordie et veritatis."

Missa Recolleccionis festorum B. Marie V. (643).

Informaciones et Cautele ("Accidentia misse") (647).

Cautele seruande . . . circa defectus, etc. (651).

¶ After the *Sanctorale* and *Commune Sanctorum*, and Votive Masses:—

Missa de Quinque vulneribus. "*Humiliauit*" (750*).

Missa in festo Corone Domini. "*Gaudeamus*" (756*).

Missa cotidiana B. Marie. "*Salve*" (759*, 779*).

Missa euisdem in capella. "*Rorate*" (762*).

Missa euisdem quando fit plenum seruicium. *Vultum* (768*).

Memorie generales (s. "communes") de B. Maria (777*).

Missa ad poscendum donum Spiritus Sancti (790*).

Missa pro peccatoribus. "*Si iniquitates*" (792*).

Missa pro inspiracione diuine sapiencie (795*).

Missa pro peste animalium (812*).

Missa pro infirmo proximo morti (814*).

Missa pro prelatiis et subditis (817*).

Missa pro seipso (non Sarum). "*Suppliciter*" (817*).

Missa pro nauigantibus (820*).

Missa pro pregnante (cf. p. 183). "*Deus, qui B.*" (822*).

Missa de SS. Katherina, Margareta, et Maria Magdalena (823).

Missa S. Sigismundi, pro febricitantibus (823*).

Missa contra paganos (824*).

Missa de Incarnacione Domini (825*).

Missa pro penitentibus "*Exaudi q. omps. Dñe, supplicum* (826*).

Missa in tempore paschali, ad memoriam Resurreccionis.
"*Deus, qui per Unigenitum*" (826*).

Missa de Omnibus Sanctis per totum annum. "*Concede*" (826*).

¶ After the Marriage Services :—

Missa ad honorem virginis gloriose pro pregnantibus. “*Alma virgo*” (846*).

Benediccion mulieris post partum, ante ostium ecclesie (849*).

Benediccion panis in dominicis diebus (849*).

¶ After the services *pro Defunctis* :—

Trigintale S. Gregorii [see above, p. 183]; (883*)

Prosa pro defunctis. “*Dies ire*” (884*).

Missa Clementis pape, pro mortalitate euitanda (886*).

Euangelium Johannis xxii. pape: (Passio secundum Johannem [A.D. 1334] cum indulgentiis (890*).

Missa de SS. tribus regibus Colonie, pro iter agentibus (891*n.).

Missa de S. Sebastiano, tempore pestis (892*).

Missa de S. Rocho. “*Congratulamini*” (895*n.).

Missa S. Genouefe. “*Gaudeamus*” (897*n.).

Commemoracio S. Erasmi (899*).

Missa S. Rochi. “*Letabitur*” (900*).

In commemoracione S. Christofori (903*).

Missa de S. Antonio (905*).

Officium Raphaelis archangeli. “*Ego sum*” (908*).

Missa de S. Gabriele. “*Gaudeamus omnes in*” (912*).

Item de S. Gabriele. “*Gaudeant omnes fideles de*” (911*n.).

In festo Presentacionis B. Marie (xi. Kal. Dec.) (915*n.).

Missa compassionis, siue Lamentacionis B. Marie. “*Vide Domine*” (919*).

Missa S. Armagilli (923*n.).

Missa de S. Barbara (925*).

Oraciones (siue Missa) Innocentii III. [1194–1216] de Passione Domini.

“*Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, qui pro redempcione nostra nasci et circumcidi.*”

“*Auxilientur nobis.*”

“*Domine Deus de Deo*” (927*).

De cantu *Kyrie eleyson* (928*).

Tabula hoc in opere contentorum.

Accentuarius breuium et longarum syllabarum (printed in *Brev. Sarum*, iii. pp. (iii)–(xx), in appendix). To help a priest to pronounce correctly.

The *Proprium Sanctorum* of the Missal and the Breviary naturally grew, as time advanced, by the insertion of additional Saints' Days and Holy Days, which were established by general consent or by ecclesiastical or regal authority from time to time.

The following list may perhaps be of some use to help in the problem of assigning a date to Missals or other medieval service-books of English or Irish Use from internal evidence found in their *Kalendarium* and *Sanc-torale*.

DATE.	SAINT OR HOLY DAY.	PLACE OF FEAST.	AUTHORITY, OCCASION, ETC.
1008	St. Edward, K. M. . . .	20 June	} Translated.
1008	„ his Translation	18 March	
1012	St. Alphege, Abp. . . .	19 April .	Martyred.
1013	St. Edmund, K. M. . . .	20 Nov.	} Translated.
—	„ his Translation	29 April	
1033	St. Dunstan	19 May .	For England.
1080	St. Linus	26 Nov. .	Canonised.
1087	St. Nicholas, his Translation	—	Translated.
1095	St. Wulstan, Bp. . . .	19 Jan. .	Worcester.
1101	St. Milburga	23 Feb.	} Translated.
1101	„ her Translation	26 May	
1109	St. Anselm, Abp. D. . . .	21 April .	
1121	St. Arnulph	18 July .	Canonised.
1144	St. William, boy M. . . .	25 March .	Norwich.
1163	St. Edward, K. C. . . .	5 Jan. .	
1173	St. Thomas, M. . . .	29 Dec. .	Canonised.
1185	St. Patrick	17 March	} Invention of their relics.
—	St. Columba	9 June	
—	St. Bridget	1 Feb.	
1190	St. Gilbert of Sempringham	3, 4 Feb. .	Canonised.
1200	Hugh, Bp. of Lincoln dies .	—	d. 16 Nov.
1203	St. Wulstan	19 Jan. .	
1220	St. Hugh	17 Nov. .	Canonised.
1220-3	St. Thomas Martyr's Trans.	7 July .	Translated.
1222	All Souls' Day	2 Nov. .	Oxford Synod.
1222	St. Edward, K. C., his Trans.	13 Oct. .	„
1228	St. Francis, C. . . .	4 Oct. .	Canonised.

DATE.	SAINT OR HOLY DAY.	PLACE OF FEAST.	AUTHORITY, OCCASION, ETC.
1234	St. Dominic, C. . . .	4 Aug. .	Canonised.
1241	St. Roger, Bp. . . .	1 Oct. .	London. [vii. 117.]
1246	St. Edmund, Abp. C. . . .	16 Nov. .	(Hardouin, <i>Conc.</i>
1247	„ his Translation	9 June .	Translated.
1251	St. Margaret, Q. of Scotland	10 June .	Canonised.
1252	<i>Octave</i> of Nativity of B.V. M.	9-15 Sept. .	
1252	Sarum feast of Relics, changed	8-16 July .	Altered.
1255	Little St. Hugh, boy M. . .	27 July .	Lincoln.
1260	St. Richard of Chichester . .	3 April .	Canonised.
1262	„ his Translation	16 June .	Translated.
(1264	Corpus Christi Festival . .	Th. aft. Trin.	Decreed.)
1280	St. Hugh of Lincoln	6 Oct. .	Lincoln Chapter.
1280	St. William of York	8 June .	Canonised.
1284	„ his Translation	7 Jan. .	York.
1308	St. Swithun	9 July	Winchester Synod.
—	„ his Translation	15 July	
—	St. Birinus	4 Sept.	
—	St. Edmund, Abp. C. . . .	16 Nov.	
—	„ his Translation	9 June	
—	St. Richard, Bp. of Chichester	3 April	
—	„ his Translation	16 June	
1310	St. Thomas Cantelupe	25 Aug. .	Canonised.
—	„ his Translation	2 (25) Oct. .	Hereford.
1318	Corpus Christi (established).	Th. aft. Trin.	Wells, etc.
1328	Conception of B. V. Mary . .	8 Dec. .	Canterbury Prov.
1348	St. Bridget or Bride, V. . . .	1 Feb.	Dublin Province.
—	St. Canicus, or Kenny	11 Oct.	
—	St. Laserian of Leighlin . . .	18 April	
—	St. Edomus	—	
—	St. Patrick	17 March	
—	„ his Translation	—	
—	„ his weekly Com- memoration	—	
—	St. Laurence, Abp. O'Toole . .	14 Nov.	
—	Eleven Thousand Virgins . .	21 Oct.	
1351	Conception of B. V. Mary . .	8 Dec.	
—	St. Anne	26 July	Papal Bull.)
—	St. Thomas, M., Translation	7 July	
—	St. Katharine	26 Nov.	
(1354	St. Augustine of Canterbury	26 May .	
1360	St. Edward, K. C.	5 Jan. .	Canterbury Prov.

DATE.	SAINT OR HOLY DAY.	PLACE OF FEAST.	AUTHORITY, OCCASION, ETC.
1375	<i>Vigil of Nativity of B. V. M.</i>	7 Sept.	For England.
1376	St. Augustine of Canterbury	26 May	Canterbury Prov.
1379	St. John of Bridlington	10 Oct.	Translated.
1380	<i>Vigil of Nativity of B. V. M.</i>	7 Sept.	Again; see 1375.
1383	St. Anne	26 July	For England.
1386	Conversion of St. Paul	25 Jan.	} London Synodals.
—	St. Paul's weekly Commem.	—	
—	St. Erkenwald	30 April	
—	„ his Translation	14 Nov.	
1391	St. Birgitta or Bridget (d. 1373)	8 Oct.	Canonised.
—	St. David	1 March	} Canterbury Prov.
—	St. Chad	2 March	
—	St. Winifred	3 Nov.	
—	St. Thomas, M., weekly commemoration	Tuesdays	
1410	<i>Vigil of St. Matthias</i>	23 Feb.	} Bp. of Sarum.
1411	“ <i>Missa de Nomine Jesu</i> ” indulgenced ¹	— ¹	
1415	St. George	23 April	} Made obligatory; see 1398.
—	St. David	1 March	
—	St. Chad	2 March	
—	St. Winifred	3 Nov.	
1416	St. John of Beverley	7 May	} Canterbury Prov.
—	„ his Translation	25 Oct.	
—	(SS. Crispin and Crispinian)	25 Oct.)	} Papal sanction.)
(1431	Feast of the Visitation	2 July	
1443	St. Raphael	5 Oct.	} Salisbury Chapter.
1451	St. Gabriel	18 March	
1452	St. David	1 March	} Still classed as “ <i>nova festa</i> ” by Treasurer of Sarum.
—	St. Chad	2 March	
—	St. John of Beverley	7 May	
—	„ his Translation	25 Oct.	
—	St. Nicholas' Translation	9 May	
—	St. Anne	26 July	
—	SS. Crispin and Crispinian	25 Oct.	
—	St. Winifred	3 Nov.	
—	Corpus Christi	Trin. Thurs.)	} Salisbury Cath.
1456	St. Raphael	5 Oct.	
1456	St. Osmund of Sarum (d. 1099)	4 Dec.	Canonised.
1457	„ his Translation	16 July	Translated.

¹ See Dr. Henderson's *York Missal*, ii. 216.

DATE.	SAINT OR HOLY DAY.	PLACE OF FEAST.	AUTHORITY, OCCASION, ETC.
(1457	The Transfiguration . . .	6 Aug.	} Papal sanction.)
—	The Most Holy Name . . .	7 Aug.	
1480	Visitation of B. Mary, V. . .	2 July	} Convocation of Canterbury pe- tition Abp. to to prescribe.
—	St. Osmund	4 Dec.	
—	St. Frideswide	19 Oct.	
—	St. Etheldreda	17 Oct.	
1480	" <i>Festum Visitationis B. M. V.</i> "	2 July	} Printed as supple- ments to Sarum Breviary.
1483	" <i>Festum Transfigurationis D. N. J. C.</i> "	6 Aug.	
c. 1487- 91	" <i>Servitum de Compassione B. M. V.,</i> " or "Commemo- ratio Pietatis"	Friday before Passion Sunday .	—
1487	" <i>The lyf of Saynt Erasmus</i> "	3 June .	A <i>Supplement</i> to "Golden Legend."
1493	" <i>Festum Nominis Jesu</i> " .	7 Aug. .	Printed as Supple- ment to Sarum Breviary.
1490-8	The Transfiguration (see Abp. Rotherham's will)	6 Aug.	} York Synod.
—	The Holy Name	7 Aug.	
1513	Visitation of B. Mary, V. . .	2 April .	York Convocation.
1523	Dedicatio Ecclesiae	3 Oct. .	London and sub- [urbs.
1536	"	First Sunday in Oct. .	K. Henry VIII.

"*Missale ad usum Sarum*," the Kalendar of 1497, with the Text of 1526, in four parts, 8°, 1861, 1867, 1874, and 1883, edited by F. H. Dickinson, Pitsligo Press, Burntisland; now Parker, Oxford.

"*The Sarum Missal in English*," by A. H. Pearson (with sequences in metre by his father, C. B. Pearson, Prebendary of Sarum), two editions, 8°, 1868 and 1884. The Church Press Company.

The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England (Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor, and Roman, Canon of the Mass), W. Maskell, three editions, 1844, 1846, and 1882.

The York Missal ("Missale ad usum Ebor"), 2 vols. 8°, 1872, W. G. Henderson, for the Surtees Society (vols. 59, 60).

Andrews, Durham ; Quaritch. (Besides the seven MSS. of the York Missal enumerated by Dr. Henderson, i. p. vi., we may mention the Cluniac Missal of St. John's Pontefract, of the fifteenth century, now at King's Coll. Cam. MS. 37).

The Hereford Missal, *Missale ad usum Herford*, from the edition of 1502, by Dr. Henderson, 8°, 1874. Privately issued. (W.)

THE EPISTLE-BOOK

Epistle-books and later Gospel-books must have existed in very considerable numbers till the Reformation. To-day both are rare volumes, the Epistle-book especially so. It is probably from that rarity that these books have not received much attention at the hands of liturgical scholars. Apparently no English Epistle-book of an earlier date than the fifteenth century is now in existence.

The Epistle-books which remain to-day are of two kinds :—

1. Books containing the epistles for the more important occasions, each epistle being preceded by a rubric indicating the occasion for its use.

2. Books similarly arranged but containing all the epistles for the whole year.

The Epistle-book was a volume of considerable importance, that at the cathedral church of Sarum in the thirteenth century had both covers of silver. And some years later, at the new cathedral at Salisbury, an "Epistolare" is recorded as belonging to the Altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, the Gospels there being read out of the Missal.

One of the items added to the Westminster Abbey

tri nostri



Epistola. ad hebreos.

*Kath.
mul
hpha
riam*

Multisq; modis
olim deus loquens
p̄ribus in pph̄tis:
nomine diebus
istis locutus est no
bis in filio quem co
stituit heredem uni
uersorum: p̄ quem fe
cit & senila. Qui nū
sit splendor glorie &
figura substantie

cius: portansq; o
nia iūbo virtutis
sue. purgationem
peccatorum faciens.
sed et ad extremam
maiestatis in excel
sis. Quanto melior
angelis effectus:
quanto differens
p̄ illis nomen he
reditavit. Cum enī
dixit aliqui angelo
rum dñs. filius mi
us es tu: ego hōdie
genui te. Et rursum.
Ego ero illi in pa
trem: et ip̄s erit mi
hi in filium. Et cum
iterum introduit
primogenitum i
n orbem terre: dicit.
Et ad orientem
omnes angeli dei.
Et ad angelos qui

Vestry Inventory of 1388 was a book of "Pystles," with painted figures of prophets at the beginning.

Sometimes the Epistle-book and Gospel-book were bound up together in one volume. At Durham,—

"the Gospeller did carrye a marvelous faire booke which had the Epistles and Gospels in it" (*The Monastical Church of Durham*, p. 7. Surtees Society, vol. xv.).

The Epistle-book which was presented to a London city church in 1508 is now in the library of the British Museum (MS. 2. B. XII.): it is the fellow-volume to the Gospel-book subsequently dealt with. This book, as recorded still on the flyleaf, was given with its fellow-volume to the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, by Stephen Jenyns, Lord Mayor of London, and his wife in 1508.

The inscription is as follows:—

"Orate pro bono statu Stephani Jenyns, Militis et Aldermani Londonensis, Et domine Margarete uxoris sue dum vixerint. Et pro animabus ipsorum cum ab luce migraverint hac Nec non pro anima Willelmi Buck Qui quidem Stephanus ac Margareta istum dederunt librum Ecclesie Beate Marie virginis de Aldermanbury ibidem in perpetuum permansurum Anno Domini 1508 Et Anno Regni Regis Henrici septimi 24 Quo tempore sive anno Dictus Stephanus Londonie predictae Maior fuit Quibus det deus eternam ffelicitatem Amen

Q. E. S."¹

This book, like its fellow (the Gospel-book), is in beautiful condition, well written, and has many of its pages decorated with miniatures and fine borders. It is about fourteen inches high. Both this volume and its fellow are bound with oaken sides, the front boards of

¹ Mr. Bickley believes this to mean Quoth E. S.

both books having a deep hollow sunk in the whole surface. Probably this hollow contained originally a large silver plate, such a form of elaborate decoration being not uncommon in the case of Epistle- and Gospel-books, as will have been already noticed.

The book does not contain the whole of the Epistles for the year, but only those which were to be read on the more important occasions and festivals. Before each Epistle is a little rubric indicating the occasion upon which the Epistle should be read. The Epistles for ordinary times would be read from the Mass-book. The first few pages contain music with the text.

MS. 77 at Trinity College, Oxford (the fellow-volume to the Gospel-book MS. 76 in the same library), is an example of an Epistle-book containing the epistles for the whole year. This book commences: *Hic incipit Epistole et Evangelia per totum annum secundum usum Sarum*, referring thus to its fellow volume as well. The book is about eleven inches high, with the text very boldly written in single columns. There is a little musical notation in the first few pages. With the exception of a miniature within the H at the commencement, the book is virtually without ornamentation. According to Coxe and Frere, the MS. is of the fifteenth century.

According to Dr. James's *Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in Trinity College, Cambridge*, a MS. in that collection, B. 11. 12, is an Epistle-book of probably very similar character to the last-mentioned volume. Its fellow, the Gospel-book, is MS. B. 11. 13.

Apparently the Epistle-book was commonly, if not always, one of two volumes, and if a church possessed an

Epistle-book, a fellow-volume in the shape of a Gospel-book was generally present. It does not follow, however, that a church possessing a Gospel-book would also usually possess an Epistle-book, because, unlike the Epistle-book, the Gospel-book is not infrequently a wholly independent volume. It is probable that a church more often possessed a Gospel-book than the pair of volumes forming the Epistle- and Gospel-books.

The following extract from the Museum MS. will show the plan of the Epistle-book:—

“In die sancte trinitatis. Epistola. leccio libri apocalipsis Johannis apostoli. In diebus illis. Vidi ostium [etc.]

In festo corporis christi. Epistola. ad corinthios XI°. Fratres. Ego enim [etc.]

In festo dedicationis ecclesie. Epistola. leccio libri Apocalipsis Johannis apostoli XXI. In diebus illis. Ego Johannes [etc.]

In die sancti andree Apostoli. Epistola. Ad corinthios X°. Fratres, corde creditur [etc.]

In die sancti Nicholai, episcopi et confessoris. Epistola. Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis, ut in communi.”

The Epistle-book has not yet been printed as a separate book, it being sufficiently included in the Missal. But just before the Reformation the Epistles and Gospels were sometimes printed (in English) at the end of the Prymer, in 1540, Brit. Mus., C. 35, b. 14; and again in 1543, etc. Also they are to be found in a separate volume in English, Brit. Mus., C. 10, a. 6. Also in Latin, in the volume entitled *“Postilla; sive expositio epystolarum & evangeliorum,”* etc., printed by Julyan Notary, 4°, 1509. (Brit. Mus., C. 36, e. 16.) (L.)

THE GOSPEL-BOOK

Gospel-books are of three kinds :—

1. Books not liturgically arranged, but forming texts of the Gospels (Textus), sometimes having appended a table indicating the portions to be read on specified occasions. These books are of early date.

2. Books arranged liturgically, containing the Gospels for the more important occasions, each gospel being preceded by a rubric indicating the occasion for its use. These books are of later date.

3. Books similarly arranged, but containing all the gospels for the whole year.

This service-book has at all times been treated with special veneration. At the reading of the Gospel all the congregation in church in the Middle Ages, as to-day, stood up.

“ And whenne þe gospelle I red be schalle
Teche hem þenne to stonde up alle.”

(*Instructions for Parish Priests*, E. E. Text Society, p. 9.)

From a very early period an oath taken upon the book of the Gospels was considered a particularly solemn form of asseveration. Thus, for instance, at Salisbury and elsewhere, when a new Dean was installed, he was to take his Gospel oath to do his duty by his church, “*inspectis et tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis.*” The Bishop likewise, when he was received as a Canon among his brethren of the Chapter, had the “Textus evangeliorum” (which contained a copy of his oath) tendered him by the Deacon to touch and kiss.

The Anglo-Saxon Gospel-book, MS. Brit. Mus., I. D.

IX., has the text carried right through without rubrics, but concluding with a table at the end, noted in the Museum catalogue as *Index Lectionum Ecclesiæ per totum annum*. This table commences, "*In primis in vigilia natalis domini de nona*¹ *Evangelium secundum Matheum capitulum iii Cum esset disposata Usque a peccatis eorum.*" The date of the book may be judged from the inscribed name of "Cnutes Kynges nama . . . ure leofa hlaford." The volume is a very fine one as regards size, vellum, and writing; there is, however, but little ornament.

A somewhat similar volume is the Brit. Mus. MS. 34,890.

The Gospel-book, Brit. Mus. MS., 2. B. xiii., was given, with the Epistle-book before mentioned, to the church of St. Mary, in Aldermanbury, London, by Lord Mayor Jenyns and his wife, in 1508. The inscription recording the gift is still clear on the flyleaf of the volume; it is substantially the same as that in the Epistle-book, given on p. 195. The book is about fourteen inches high and is very beautifully written, many pages being decorated with handsome borders, miniatures, and fine initial letters. The book does not contain all the Gospels for the year, but only those for the more important occasions. Before each Gospel is a little rubric indicating the occasion upon which the Gospel is to be read. Those Gospels not given would be read from the Mass-book. The first few pages contain musical notation with the text.

MS. 76, at Trinity College, Oxford (the fellow volume to the Epistle-book, MS. 77, in the same library), is a Gospel-book containing all the Gospels for the whole year.

¹ This was the gospel for the day, as distinct from the *Missa in Nocte* and *In Gallicantu*.

This volume is about eleven inches high, the same size as its fellow, the Epistle-book, but is less boldly written, and varies also in being arranged in double columns. It contains rather more musical notation than the less comprehensive Gospel-books, and more also than its fellow volume, the Epistle-book, though that, too, is arranged for the whole year. The MS. has little ornament, and, according to Coxe and Frere, is of the fifteenth century.

The following extract from MS. 2. B. xiii. will show the plan of this service-book :—

“In die sancte trinitatis. Evangelium S. Johannem 3°. In illo tempore. Erat homo [etc.]
In festo corporis christi. Evangelium Secundum Johannem VI°. In illo tempore dixit iesus [etc.]
In festo dedicacionis ecclesie. Evangelium Secundum lucam nonodecimo. In illo tempore. Egressus iesus [etc.]
In die sancti andree apostoli. Ad missam. Evangelium Secundum Matheum 4°. In illo tempore, Ambulans [etc.]
In die Sancti Nicholai, episcopi et confessoris. Evangelium secundum Matheum xxv°. In illo tempore. Dixit iesus [etc.]”

The Brit. Mus. MS. Harl., 7,026, is a large book containing, amongst other matter, seventeen leaves of one of the great Gospel-books formerly in use in Salisbury Cathedral. These seventeen leaves though placed together are bound in great disorder, some even to the extent of the outside margin being now made to form the inner by the binding. The leaves are very large, being about two feet high and broad in proportion, with the text very boldly written and often adorned with miniatures and other ornamentation. The book contained the gospels for important occasions.

ueni: habet uitam eternam. Et ego
resuscitabo eum: in nouissimo die.



Rather less than 1/4 Full Size

The last page of the fifteenth century Gospel Book, Brit Mus MS Harl 7026.

One of the coloured plates in our own volume is a facsimile, except as regards size, of one side of leaf 4 of this MS. From the text on the reverse and the two lines above the picture it is almost certain that this page was originally the last of the book when perfect. The picture represents the finished volume being handed to the donor, Lord Lovel, by whom it was ordered to be made for the cathedral. The inscription written in the ornament on the inner margin of the page explains by whom the book was given and for what purpose. Lord Lovel owned and lived at Wardour Castle, not far from Salisbury ; he died in 1408.

Our plate of grotesques supplies an interesting example of a grotesque ornament from the margin of one of the pages of this book. Such incongruities of ornament are by no means uncommon in the marginal decoration of service-books. (See pp. 299, 300, below.)

The valuable seventh-century Gregorian Gospels, from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, is now in the Parker Collection (Cod. 286) at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Of similar age and history is the MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (MS. 857, Auct. D. 2. 14), commonly known as "St. Augustine's Gospels."

Gospel-books have in certain places in the long gospels of the Passion for Holy Week the insertion of a "✠," and certain single letters. These gospels were sung in parts, and the cross and the letters indicate the voices to which the parts belonged. The words of Christ were taken by a bass voice, those of the evangelist's narrative by a tenor, and the remarks of any of the disciples or the Jews (*vox turbarum*) by an alto.

A Sarum Missal printed in 1527 has the voices distinguished by a rubricated “*a*,” “*b*,” and “*m*” respectively. In the Sarum Missals printed in 1494 and 1497 the *vox bassa* for Christ’s words is marked by a “✠.” In Mr. Peach’s Hambledon Missal (ab. 1410) the voices are indicated :—✠ = bassa, S = media, C = alta.

The use, however, of these letters in the Passion is not very ancient. It is explained with great probability by Gavanti (iv. tit. vii. rubr. 18) to signify Chronista and Synagoga, or just possibly Cantor and Succentor.

A splendid jewelled “text” had been presented by Hubert De Burgh, the justiciar of England, to the new cathedral church at Salisbury, when the eastern portion was consecrated in 1225. This contained only the Gospel according to St. John. One of St. Mark was given by an Archdeacon, *cir.* 1295, and there were also “Texts of Lent and Passion.” In earlier times St. Osmund himself gave to the earlier cathedral church of Old Sarum no less than ten “texts” silver-gilt.

At one of the Wiltshire parish churches visited by the Dean of Sarum, *cir.* 1220–1226, there was a “text” of the Gospels, for the whole year, covered with silver.

At St. Michael’s, Mere, in Sarum diocese, early in the thirteenth century, was “a very old book with a cross upon it, on which oaths are administered.” An oath taken upon the *Red Book of Derby* (now Parker MS. 422, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), was considered to be more than ordinarily sacred.

In the Vestry Inventory of Westminster Abbey, in 1388, there were six texts of various sizes. One of the smaller ones, adorned with silver-gilt, but with no other orna-

or. *Attende dñe cordas*
Exple. Quercunus
scriptatur. Gaudat. *Ex syon* spe ies decons eius
 deus manifeste ue meo. *V. Congrega*
te illi sanctos eius qui ordinauerūt
testamentum eius super sacrificia.
Alle luya
Virgines te li mouebuntur eo tunc uidebunt filium hominis
uenientem in nubibus celi cum potestate et maiestate
Secor. Regnante sc.
Amo. Annuntia signa
mag na in sole. Offertorium.
Deus tu conuertens uultu tuo ad nos et plebs
 tua letabitur in te ostende nobis domine miseri
 cordiam tuam et salutare tuum da nobis. *Os.*
Ierusalem surge et sta in excelso et uide iocunditatemque ueni

A PAGE FROM A GRAIL, OR GRADUALE, OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

(SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT)

Brit. Mus. MS. 12,104, leaf 3

ment save the silver crucifix, was assigned for use at the Morrow Mass. Subsequently the number of texts in the Abbey was doubled. Many of them were enriched with gold and jewels, and one was stripped by a thief (see Dr. Legg's *Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey*, p. 41).

The Gospel-book has not yet been printed as a separate volume. We may refer to what has been said as to the "Pystels" and "Postills" at the end of the account of the Epistle-book, p. 197. (L.)

THE GRADUAL OR GRAYLE

The music accompanying the service of the Mass may be considered under two main heads: (*a*) that to which is set the scriptural passages which were contained in the Gregorian Sacramentary, and (*b*) that to which the non-scriptural portions of the service were sung.

The scriptural elements of the Missal so far as the music is concerned are—

1. The *officium*, or *Antiphona ad introitum* (with its psalm), with which the service opens.
2. The *gradale*, or respond to the Epistle.
3. The *Alleluia* and its verse.
4. The *tractus*, a psalm which takes the place of the "Alleluia" in certain penitential and funereal Masses.
5. The *offertorium*, with verses, following the Gospel (and *Credo* when said), and
6. The *Antiphona ad Communionem*, with its psalm.

The music for all these scriptural pieces was provided in the Gregorian *Antiphonale Missarum*, which came in later times to be called *Gradale* or *Graduale*, or in this

country the "Grail," from No. 2, which in its turn derived its name from the steps of the *pulpitum* or *ambo*, which was the place not only for the reading of the Epistle, but for the singing of the grail and verse by two boys¹ (as the steps in the Temple at Jerusalem were the principal place for the solemn singing of the psalms of up-going, the Songs of Degrees, or Fifteen Gradual Psalms).

The *Alleluia* and its verse were also sung in the "pulpit" by cantors or by choristers, and the Gospel was read there by the deacon, attended by cerofer or taper-bearer and thurifer. The *pulpitum* was often of stone; such is the present organ loft at Lincoln (as elsewhere), where the wooden supports of the book-desks were recently to be seen when the new organ was about to be erected. The *pulpitum* was used also at functions for the rood, as well as for lections at Mass and Mattins on solemn occasions.²

A Sarum *Gradual*, written *cir.* 1210, has, in 1894, been produced in facsimile from Brit. Mus. Add. 12,194, for the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, with a valuable Preface by Mr. W. H. Frere, who gives a list (p. liii) of two other thirteenth-century Sarum Graduals, two of the fourteenth and four of the fifteenth century. There were three noble folio printed editions of the Sarum Gradual, produced at Paris by Nic. Prevost in 1527, July, 1528, and 1532, for Wynken de Worde, J. Reynes, and L. Suethon; for F. Byrckman; and for F. Regnault and Ro. Redman; respectively. A list of extant copies is given in *Salisbury Ceremonies* (C. Wordsworth), p. 332. The earlier editions contain 300 leaves; the latest, 334.

¹ See Frere's *Use of Sarum*, i. p. 69.

² *Ibid.*, i. p. 305 (index).

The first edition has the arms of the Trinity amid the evangelistic symbols on the title-page, with a border of small woodcuts representing SS. Jerome, Thomas of Canterbury, Augustine, Ambrose, Bede, and Gregory.

The second has the three-tier title-page of Cologne saints (see pp. 106, 135) with the arms of that city and the "W. A." monogram, which appears to have been adopted by "Fr. Birckman" (or Byrckman), of Cologne.

The third has Francoys Regnault's elephant and monogram.

The contents are :—

Kalendarium, with verses "*Pocula Janus amat*," etc.

Benedictio salis et aque.

Temporale ("Ad te levavi," etc., with woodcut of the introit of the Mass), with rubrics as to the termination of collects, the Epistles, and Gospels, "*Credo in unum*," and for the ordinary of the Mass, and cues for the various parts of the service of each day, and of course especially the portions which have their music given.

Proprium Sanctorum, or *Sanctorale*.

Commune Sanctorum.

Misse Votive, with those *pro defunctis*.

Kyrie eleyson, cum farsura.

Hymni angelici (various settings of "*Gloria in excelsis*"), *Sanctus*, *Agnus*, *Benedicamus*, *Ite, missa est*, and *Requiescant in pace*.

The colophon of 1532 is arranged so as to have the appearance of a chalice. See *Church Quarterly Review*, xl., No. 79, p. 142 (1895). The music in the latest edition of the Grail claimed to be of a bolder "*fount*"—*crassioribus quam antea notis*—so that it could be better seen by the singers.

A unique York Gradual of the early fifteenth century

was purchased by Mr. James Ward, of Nottingham, from the Phillipps Collection, and is now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and has been described by Mr. W. H. Frere, in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*, ii. 578-86.

The fourteenth-century Gradual of St. Peter's, Hereford, is in Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 3965.

The *Graduale* of Durham, *cir.* 1500, with four leaves of *Tonarium*, is at Jesus Coll., Cambridge, MS. 22 ; Q. B. 5.

Facsimile reproduction of the early thirteenth-century MS., Brit. Mus. Add. 12,194, Plainsong Society, folio, 1894.

(W.)

THE TROPER

Besides the scriptural words, the Missal contained several pieces from uninspired authors, which were set to music and sung at certain points in the order of the Mass. Such were :—

Kyrie (cum farsura).

Gloria in excelsis (cum farsura).

(Sequentia).

Sanctus (cum farsura).

Agnus (cum farsura).

Ite, missa est ; or its alternatives, *Benedicamus* and *Requiescant* (cum farsura).

Also the lections were sometimes “farsed,” as were the Introit, Offertory, and Communion antiphon.

A “*farsura*” was the interpolation of prose or words,¹ suitable to the season or occasion, such as was commonly

¹ The introduction of proper clauses in the Eucharistic Preface on festivals, and of the Ten Commandments between “Lord, have mercy upon us,” in the Prayer Book, may illustrate this.

TROPI IN PURIFICATIO

ANE SCE MARIE
HOC EST ALMA GIRGO PARENS AD E

uerbum caro factum proclamemus omnes

laudes in excelsis deo patri Suscepimus.

Lumen eternum xpm dnm. In medio.

In brachiis sci symeonis regem regum ad e

de quo propheta precinit ouans. Secdm.

Gloria salus & honor. In fines. in seculum

seculi. Iustitia. ITE.

Ompc petamus pia laudum suscipe uo
ta Suscepim? Rex pi xpe tuum sit no

men semp per honestum. Secundum.

Personam eternum quoniam sine fine peiu.

Iustitia plena est. AD PS.

introduced in the west of Europe about the ninth to the twelfth centuries, and which lingered on in the case of *Kyrie eleyson* and *Gloria in excelsis* till the sixteenth century. These all were independent of the old Gregorian service in the sense of being later additions.

Such words with their music were provided in the book called the *Troper*, which took its name from the *tropi* or "turns" of music and words interpolated in the text of the liturgy.¹ These began in the first instance as "*jubila*," or music introduced without words. The *Troper*, strictly speaking, contained the music to the non-Gregorian portions; but in practice the *Grail* and the *Troper* at first poached each on the other's ground, and in course of time the *Grail* assimilated such few tropes as had not fallen into disuse by the beginning of the thirteenth century and the development of Sarum Use. Then the name "*Troper*" survived only as an alternative for the "*Sequenciar*," of which we shall say more anon.

Mr. Frere has edited (with several facsimiles) the "*Winchester Troper*" from MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries, now in the Bodleian (MS. Bodl. 775, *cir.* 979) and at Corpus, Cambridge (Parker MS. 473, *cir.* 1050), referring also to the thirteenth-century *Tropers* of Dublin (Camb. Univ. MS., Add. 710) and Canterbury (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS., Caligula A. xiv.).

The *Winchester Troper*, 8°, W. H. Frere (H. Bradshaw Soc., 1894), with facsimiles. (W.)

¹ See *Winchester Troper*, Introduction, p. viii.

THE VERSARIUS OR VERSICULARIUS

In the list of books in the choir of St. George's, Windsor, in 1384-5, besides two old Grails and a set of six others, there is a "liber cum *N. Gradalium* et Alleluia, remanens in pulpito," and a "rotulus de cantu musico ex legacione dñi Jo. Aleyn" (Dugdale, *Monast.*, vi. p. 1362).

It seems probable that this was a book which was called a "Versary," but we have not found an example now extant, unless it be the collection of verses of Grails and Alleluias belonging to St. Gall, of which a facsimile has been published by Lambillotte. However, "*versarius unus*" occurs among the books of Prior Lawrence in the twelfth-century catalogue of books at St. Cuthbert's Monastery, Durham (p. 8). In 1295, at St. Paul's London, were "*ix. versicularii*" with "vii. alii, nigri, de dono E. de S. Olavo" (Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, ed. 1818, p. 324). But these may have contained versicles for choir service.

This book has not been printed.

(W.)

THE SEQUENCE BOOK

About the year 862 it is said that Notker Balbulus, in the monastery of St. Gall, learnt from a monk of Jumièges the artifice of adapting words to the almost interminably protracted notes of the final syllable of "Alleluia," the termination of which was prolonged sometimes a hundred-fold, and which Notker (and, doubtless, many others) found it not merely tedious, but well-nigh impossible, to recollect and to render accurately. The Alleluia is still sometimes prolonged to forty or fifty notes; in early times it was repeated to above a hundred, with the purpose of allowing the deacon's procession for the Gospel, starting from the altar, to reach the ambon or "pulpit" after the

Epistoler left it. Notker then made up sense or words (*prosas ad Sequentiam*) to these approved neumes or *jubila*, trying as far as possible to use words in which the vowels *i a* preponderate (e.g. "Psallat ecclesia, mater illibata"; "Eia recolamus laudibus piis digna"), but what he was singing could not fail to be detected; and he was encouraged in his compositions not only by his cronies Ratpert and Tutilo, but by Iso his master, and by the Emperor Charles the Fat, who stayed a few days in the monastery of St. Gall, and exchanged musical compositions with the Benedictines. Mr. Mearns attributes seventy extant sequences to Notker with considerable confidence, and thirty-seven others with hesitation.¹ The example of St. Gall was followed, and Adam, of St. Victor (Paris), composed five, *cir.* 1130-77. Among the ten authors of sequences whose names are found attached to their compositions more than half are Englishmen, viz. the Prior of Montacute (? Walter, *cir.* 1110), Gervase of Gloucester (1148), Gervase of Chichester (1160), Richard the Monk (Abp. of Cant., 1171), Robert ? prior 1173) of Winchester, and Robert of York, *cir.* 1240 (Julian, *Dict. Hymn.*, p. 1043). Although only four sequences are now admitted in the Roman Missal, there are above a thousand extant of these remarkable compositions, which probably owe their name to the common *formula* in which, immediately after the prose or sequence had been sung, the deacon ordinarily² announced in what chapter "the Holy Gospel" for the

¹ See the list in Julian's *Dict. Hymnol.*, pp. 813-15. For a life of Blessed Notker Balbulus, Baring-Gould's *Lives of Saints*, at April 6th. Also J. Werner, *Notkers Sequenzen* (Aarau, Sauerfander, 1901). For the interlarding of Greek words, see *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 79, p. 147.

² Ordinarily the deacon would say, "*Sequentia evangelii secundum* [Matthæum, etc.]" ; only when he announces that the Gospel begins with chapter i., verse 1, he says, "*Initium evangelii*," etc.

day was "written." We find in the Hereford Missal 81 sequences, or *divisiones sequentiarum*; in Sarum, 94; in York, 172.

Sequences are found in the tenth- and eleventh-century Winchester Tropers (Bodl. 775, C. C. C. C. 473); in Leofric's Collectar and Hymnary, eleventh century (MS. Harl. 2961). In Brit. Mus., Reg. 8, C. xiii., Reg. 2, B. iv., and Cotton. Calig. A. xiv., all of the twelfth century. Also in Brit. Mus., Add. 12,194, a Grayle written in England *cir.* 1275. About 1400 a collection of sixty-seven sequences was added, on twenty-four leaves, to the antient ninth-century Prayer Book of Adhelwold, known as the "Book of Cerne" (Camb. Univ. MS., Ll. i. 10). In the sixteenth century eleven others were appended (Misset and Weale, *Analecta Liturg.*, i. pp. 575-89).

A collection of sequences sometimes forms an integral section in a MS. Missal, *e.g.* in the fourteenth-century Whitby Missal (Bodl. MS. Rawl. Liturg., b. 1, ff. 186-201), the fifteenth-century York Missal, Bodl., Univ. Coll. MS., 78b, ff. 170-83). See also the "Duryst" (? Deerhurst) Missal, Bodl. Rawl. Liturg., c. 3 = Misc. Lit. 381, pp. 245-60, and our description of the Hambledon Missal (p. 179). See also the tenth- to eleventh-century Cornish collection, Bodl. MS. 572, fo. 49b; and the eleventh-century Winchester Troper (ff. 122-90; see above, p. 207), where the sequences are written first without words and then with them (Frere, *Biblioth. Musico-Lit.*, i. 69). Also the Sarum Hymnal and Troper, fifteenth century, Bodl. Rawl., C. 90, ff. 23-53.

At St. Christopher le Stocks, London, in 1488 was "a primer and a *Sequencer*, noted, bothe in oon boke." And

lum ferrū nuda. Vnus fideus sorbuit hoc extinctos
 erunt vir uita refloruit et matrona. Annū hic de fron
 dibz gemmas de silicibz fractas de fragminibz fecit firmas.
 Hunc uocans uisitat xpc et hic intrat unius foveā petit
 ethra. Nunc te xpc nra uox rogat et corda ipi sorita nos p
 Thannes ihu xpo multū dilecte uigo. Tu Alia. Seco. secla.
 cū amore carnalem. In nunc parentē liquisti. Tu lene
 coniugis pect' respicisti messia secut'. Ut ei' pectoris sacra
 meruisses fluentia potare. Tu qz in terra posit' glām cō
 spexisti filii dei. Que solū scīs in uita credit' conuenda eē
 phenim. Te xpc in cruce triūphans matri sue dedit cu
 stodem. Ut uigo uigine seruaret atqz curā subpeditares.
 Tu te carcere flagrisqz fctū testimonio p xpi es gamsus.
 Item mortuos suscitās in ipi ihu nomine uenenū forte
 uincis. Tibi summi' tacitū cetis libū suū pat' reuelat.
 Tu nos oīs p'cibz sedulis apud deū semp cōmenda. Io
 hannes xpi care. De scīs innocētibz. Sequentia.
 Pbra deū laudet innocentia. Innocens xpc sua qm
 sacrat infantia. Paruuloz et morte martiriū pre
 noia. Quos seuitia hero dis dari ueti uisserat. Dum
 extinguere int' illū qui uitam dare uenerat. Natum
 namqz regē audierat. Quē succedere sibi posse in aui pa
 uore formidabat qā non celi regē nouerat. Per mu
 dia accensus et ira ferunda infantes ab imati et infia.

at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, in 1500, "a boke of *expownations* and a *sequens*, both notyd." Also "i. booke of the sequens, notyd, feeble."

At St. Paul's, London, one of the six *Troperia* in 1295 was "i. Troperium quod dicitur Radulphi decani:¹ pulcherrimum est, magnum et bonum, in cuius inicio notantur omnes Sequencie, et [in] fine ponuntur omnes epistole farciate." In 1298 there were two Grails with Tropers, and two other Tropers in St. Faith's in the crypt of St. Paul's.²

The book of "expownations" just mentioned as having been at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, in 1500, was probably a copy of the "*Expositio Sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum*," of which at least twenty-four editions were printed about 1496-1519. There was also one for York Use printed in 1507 in that city. They were usually bound with an "*Expositio Hymnorum*." A MS. "*Exposicio troparii Sarum*," written early in the fifteenth century, and attributed to T. Haume, is at Magdalene College, Oxon., MS. cxv. 185. Another, by the same glossator, is in the Bodleian, MS. Laud, F. 12, the gloss beginning, "*Cum nonnulli, qui circa dominicalia*," etc. A MS. "*Exposicio Sequentiarum secundum vsum Sarum*" is in Cambridge University Library, Dd. iii. 87, § 4, containing thirty-eight leaves, fifteenth century. The hymns and sequences were found to be a convenient text-book for schools,³ and they are

¹ Dugdale, St. Paul's, ed. 1818, p. 326. Perhaps Ralph de Diceto, *cir.* 1181-1200, or possibly Dean Ralph, *cir.* 1142.

² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³ Among books at Winchester College, *cir.* 1394-1420, were "Tractatus magistri Henrici de Hitcham super Donatum, cum exposicione sequencie *Alma chorus Domini*," etc., and "Liber versificatus, cum tractatu Johannis Garland, *cum hymnatura glossata*, et Virgilio, pret. 20d." See *W. of Wykeham and his Colleges*, M. E. C. Walcott, pp. 249, 250.

usually decorated with a title-page, in the printed copies, representing a doctor seated at a lectern. The gloss is partly of a grammatical nature, and it includes an *ordo verborum* for each line of the hymn or sequence, like that in the classical editions "*in usum Delphini*." An epistle of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, "*ex officina nostra litteraria in Parrhisiorum Lutecia*," addressed to the *Anglicana pubes* (Sequences), or the "*maioris Britannie iuvenes*" (Hymns), commended the work, which he ascribes to "*Johannes Balduinus, vulgatius Baudins*." Students of More's *Utopia*, remembering the passage of arms at Card. Morton's table between the buffoon and the friar, and the allusion to "the zeal of the bald," will appreciate an extract from the gloss on the sequence of Adam of St. Victor, "*Zyma vetus expurgetur*," stanza 8:—

"*Irrisores. i[d est] derisores. helisei illius prophete. dum i. quando conscendit .i. ascendit domum dei, sentiunt zelum calui. scilicet helisei, quem deridendo vocabant caluum (bald) david arrepticius .i. captus a diabolo, et hircus emissarius .i. emissus, et passer effugiunt.*

"*Hircus* (a goat). Nota *arrepticius* est, qui vexatur a pluribus demonibus. *Energuminus* autem, qui ab vno solo demone possidetur.

"*David arrepticius* visus est, quum simulauit se furere in conspectu Achis. i. Regum xvii. De hirco, seu capro, emissario offerendo, habetur Leuitici xvii.; de passere, eiusdem .xiiij. *Effugiunt* autem, quia legales ceremonie sablate sunt," etc.¹

(W.)

¹ Cf. Judoci Clichtouei Neoportuensis *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum*, fo. Paris, 1516, p. 166, where the same sequence is expounded.

R. **H**is habere hunt virum in sponſū et ei
 oledire. ſeruire. et eū diligere. honorare ac cuſ-
 todire. ſanū ⁊ mfirmū ſicut ſponſa deſet ſpon-
 ſum. et omēs alios ꝑpter eum dimittere. ⁊ illi
 ſoli adherere. qūdin uita utriuſqꝫ ueſtrū du-
 rauerit. **22.** **W**iltow haue yis man to yin
 houſſonde to lete. buxum to hȳm. and ſerue
 hȳm. and loue hȳm. and woſſchipe hȳm.
 and kepe hȳm in ſyknes and in hele as a wiſe
 olſith to do here houſſonde. and alle oþer
 niȝt forſaken for hȳm. and ouly to draue
 to hȳm. as longe as ȝowre lothȳn lyues to
 gedere laſten. **Reſpondeat mulier.** **U**olo Deinde
 detur ſanctiſſima a patre ſuo uel ab amicis ſuis.
 que ſi puella eſt. diſcooptam habeat manū.
 ſi uidua tentam. quā uir recipiat in dei fide
 et ſua ſermandam ſicut nouit coram ſacerdo-
 te. et teneat eam ꝑ manū dexteram ī manū
 ſua dextera. et ſic uir det fidem mulieri ꝑ iura
 de ꝑſenti. ita dicens docente ſacerdote. **22.**
 take the. **R.** to myn wedded wyf. to haue
 and to holde from yis day forȝard for leter
 for ȝers. for iuthere for ȝore. for ſayntere
 for ſowlere. in ſeknes and in helthe. til deſth
 vs departhe. ȝif holy chirche it wil ordeyne
 and ther to ȝ plithe ꝑc myn treibthe. manū
 retahendo. Deinde dicat mulier docente ſa-

A PAGE OF A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUAL

Brit. Mus. MS 30.500, leaf 20 b. This book was probably the Manual of the church of St. Aldate at Gloucester. Note the Plight of Troth, etc., in English

CHAPTER VI

BOOKS FOR THE OCCASIONAL OFFICES

THE MANUAL

ALL the English MS. Manuals in the British Museum are of the fifteenth century, but Mr.

Frere, in his *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, refers to several of the fourteenth century in the Bodleian Library.

The Manual is not a difficult book to understand. Briefly, it contained what are known as the "Occasional Offices."

If we were to take from a Book of Common Prayer those leaves which contain the services for Baptism, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, and Churching of Women, and were to bind those leaves together, we should have a volume answering to the medieval Manual.

The list of contents would in a measure be the same and, apart from the difference of language, the actual phraseology would in a degree be alike. If, too, we note the order of the arrangement of the services in the two volumes, we shall see the same beautiful sequence of Baptism, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, and Burial.

The Manual had musical notation to some extent, but such is only inserted here and there.

The book at times was known as the "Ritual," but

in English Inventories and Churchwardens' Accounts of the medieval period it is referred to, perhaps invariably, as the "Manual."

Before the fourteenth century the contents of the Manual had not taken definite shape. Among the churches "visited" by the Dean of St. Paul's about 1249-52 Alderbury had a "*liber manualis cum collectis et capitulis et quibusdam exorcismis, et cum ymnpnis in fine.*" (*Visitations, Camd. Soc.*, 1895, p. 16.)

No book would be more closely associated with the life of the people than the Manual, connected as it was with the gravest issues and deepest feelings of human life. It would be present, in use, at the christening of the parishioner when a child, at the great event of the wedding, and at the last solemn scene at the graveside.

The Manual contained little or no ornament.

Manuals were of various sizes: the Brit. Mus. MS., 30,506, is almost of folio bulk, which is unusual, and for obvious reasons: for a book which was to be carried about both church and village, and in which the whole body of the writing at no time ran to great length, might well be of a very portable character. In the service of Baptism the book would be carried to the font. For the service of Marriage (as also at Churchings) it would be needed for that part of the office which took place at the church porch, and then, later, at the altar. For the Visitation of the Sick the book might be carried to the farthest confines of the parish; and for the Burial Service the volume would be carried through the churchyard, and in addition be exposed to the inclemencies of all the seasons. No book, except the Processional, would be in any way so frequently carried from one place to another.

The old Manual (probably that in use for many years at the parish church) of South Charford, near Salisbury, is now in the library of the British Museum (MS. 2. A. XXI.). It was given to the parish by John Popham in 1408, and is still in good condition; it is about ten inches high.

MS. Brit. Mus., Stowe 13, is quite a little book, about five inches in height. This MS. is very closely written and of the fifteenth century.

MS. Brit. Mus., 30,506, contains the inscription on the last leaf but two: "*Iste liber pertinet ad sanctum aldatum*," and the Museum Catalogue refers to this volume as having been written for the church of St. Aldate, at Gloucester.

The printed Manual of the old parish church of Harpole, in Northamptonshire, is now in the library of the British Museum; it is probably one of the finest examples of printing in that library. The leaves are of vellum, and about twelve inches high. At the foot of the second leaf is written: "*Ex dono thome chater ad usum ecclesie de harpolle*." At the end of the book, as a border to the printer's device, are the words: "*Ihesus est Amor meus*." The book was printed in 1506.

The medieval Manual contains:—

The Calendar.

Blessing of salt and water.

The "*Asperges*."

Baptismal Services.

The Purification of Women after Childbirth.

The Marriage Services.

The Visitation of the Sick (and Anointing).

The Office for the Dead.

The Commendations.

The Burial Service.

And other matter.

Some Manuals, and especially the later ones, contain a good deal more. Sometimes the Canon of the Mass, and the order of the Wedding and Funeral Masses, and one or two votive Masses were included, and the *Compotus* (with information about the calendar) and other matters which were convenient for a parish priest to have "ready to his hand" were appended. Sometimes, too, a formula for making wills, and a form of certificate of the publication of banns of marriage were included. The fact that it was not found worth while to go to the expense of printing the Pontifical for the use of Bishops led to the incorporation of such items as the Confirmation Service and the *Benedictiones episcoporum et suffraganeorum* in some printed editions of the Manual.

A printed Manual (Brit. Mus., C. 52, f. 4) contains a very full series of Blessings besides that of salt and water—blessings of bread, flesh, cheese, butter, a ship, eggs, and "*omnia quecunque volueris*." But such Benedictions occur in Manuals of the early part of the fifteenth century and are not to be considered as accretions of a later period. This book has also the "*articuli maioris excommunicationis*" in English, the "*Servitium Includendorum*" (for anchorites), and much other matter besides.

The above list of contents formed, however, the main structure of the book, the other matter for the most part being appended according to the individual taste and fancy of the writer or compiler.

Some parts of the text of the Manual were in English, namely, parts of the services of Baptism, Marriage, and

Visitation of the Sick, and in the later Manuals the Great Sentence is also often found in English. But with the exception of that in the Marriage Service, the English is not invariably the same either in matter or quantity. Some of the more interesting of the fragments in English will be found in Chapter II. (See above, pp. 52-4.)

Apart from the fact that the Great Sentence is included, the printed Manuals contain less matter in English than the earlier or manuscript copies. Probably in no instance will any printed copy be found to contain the interesting and curious duologue in English which in the manuscripts is so common a feature of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick.

In certain parts of the Manual the word *Euouae* occurs. This isolated word is connected with the music of the services. Probably the best explanation of its presence is to be found in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*:—

“A technical word, formed from the vowels of the last clause of the ‘Gloria Patri’—*seculorum. Amen*; and used in medieval Office-books, as an abbreviation, when, at the close of an Antiphon, it is necessary to indicate the Ending of the Tone adapted to the following Psalm or Canticle.”

This volume contains reproductions of illuminations depicting scenes of baptism, marriage, and funeral services, as they actually occurred in English churches in the Middle Ages (see coloured plates). (Cf. p. 297.)

Mr. Wordsworth has appended to his *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions* (pp. 333 foll.) a revised list of thirty-three printed editions of the Sarum Manual, ranging from 1497-1555; and most of the offices of

the Sarum Manual have been printed in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia* (second ed., 1882), and by Dr. Henderson (as an appendix to the *York Manual*, Surtees Society, 1875, pp. 3*-125*). His *York Manual* occupies 207 pages. (L.)

THE DIRGE-BOOK

The Dirge-book, though forming at times a separate volume, is really that section of the Manual containing the Office for the Dead (not the Burial Office).

Apparently from the very few medieval references to this service-book, and the rarity of copies now in existence, it may be concluded that it was never very frequently to be met with. That such should be the case is by no means remarkable, for the whole text was readily at hand in the Manual.

The Bodleian MS., Laud Latin 83, is a Dirge-book. It is about five inches high and in its original binding. The text occupies eighty-eight pages, and is very slightly ornamented. It does not contain any musical notation, which one would have naturally expected to meet with in such a volume, and at present the scarcity of copies does not permit an opinion to be formed as to whether the Dirge-book did commonly contain musical notation or not. In 1501 a Dirge-book belonging to Fordwich Church, near Canterbury, contained the music of the office :—

“ 1 Dirige book notyd.”

(Woodruff's *History of Fordwich*, p. 153.)

(L.)

CHAPTER VII

EPISCOPAL SERVICE-BOOKS

THE PONTIFICAL

THE Pontifical, as its name indicates, was the more important of the two service-books which contained the text for the especial functions of a Bishop.

It is perhaps remarkable that, considering the very few copies of Pontificals required in the Middle Ages, so many of them, comparatively, are in existence to-day.¹ The explanation of this is perhaps to be found in the fact that these books were more or less the personal property of the prelates, and were cared for in a measure as such.

These same facts are, however, considered by Mr. Maskell to explain the scarcity of Pontificals, but it must be borne in mind :—

(1) That the proportion of Pontificals remaining to-day is probably fully equal to that of any other service-book, considering the comparatively few Pontificals ever in use.

(2) That the Bishops' property would not be so easily at the mercy of the popular feeling of the day.

In Mr. Barnes's edition of Bishop Lacy's Pontifical (of which the original MS. is at Exeter Cathedral Library)

¹ The Parker Collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, contains several Pontificals.

we find the following note, from the second leaf of the book itself:—

“Hunc librum pontificalem dederunt Executores bone memorie Edmundi Lacy, nuper dum vixit Exoniensis Episcopi, de bonis ejusdem Ecclesie cathedralis Exoniensis ibidem remansurum quandiu duraverit ad laudem dei, pro salute anime dicti Edmundi, ita quod nullo modo alienetur a dicta Ecclesia cathedrali.”

The Pontifical, though often ornamented, did not exhibit the wealth of beautiful decoration which is to be found in the Prayer-books of those of high rank.

The book contains some musical notation.

Pontificals vary widely in regard to size and degree of ornamentation.

MS. Brit. Mus., Tib., C. I. (eleventh century), is distinguished by having been (as is supposed) St. Osmund's.

The Brit. Mus. MS., Lansd., 451, is perhaps in every way an excellent example of a medieval Pontifical.

This MS. is a very handsome volume of the fourteenth century. It is about twenty inches high and consists of 247 leaves. It is boldly and well written, with fine borders to the left of almost every page. The greater capitals contain, occasionally, very beautiful miniatures. That within the “O” of the *Ordo ad facienda sponsalia*, lf. 230, contains a picture of a wedding (see coloured Plate), and at lf. 234, at the commencement of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, is an exquisite little representation of a sick person receiving extreme unction at the hands of a priest in a surplice (see coloured Plate). The leaves of this MS. have very ample margins. It contains the Benedictional. It was the property of a Bishop of

London, and Mr. Frere reproduces some of its illustrations on plates x. and xi. of his *Pontifical Services*, Alcuin Club Collections, vol. iv.

The Brit. Mus. MS., 6,157, is a very plain book, written, in not quite so round a hand as is usual in service-books. The first few leaves are wanting. The book is about twelve inches high and contains more of the forms for degradation than perhaps any other MS. It also contains the Benedictional. There is very little attempt at ornament. This Pontifical belonged to Archbishop Chichele (1414-43).

A contrast to the Lansdowne Pontifical is MS. Brit. Mus., Harl., 561. This is a much smaller book, and now, indeed, but a fragment, consisting of forty-seven leaves. It is of the fifteenth century and some ten inches high. The book has virtually no ornament, but is well written. It is a large fragment of a Winchester book.

We are unfortunately not able to compare the fourteenth-century MSS. with a medieval-printed text: for so far as the present writers are aware, no Pontifical was at any time printed for use by English Bishops of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

In drawing up a full list of the contents of a Pontifical (excluding the earlier MSS., which are less ample), it must be borne in mind that the list would include the enumeration of the different Benedictions of many various articles and things; such, for instance, as that for a chasuble, a flag, house, etc., etc.; and such a list of the various Benedictions in one Pontifical is not to be expected to be exactly similar to that in another. Neither is it to be supposed that any one Pontifical will contain,

even if perfect, the text for every considerable function of a Bishop. For instance, the Consecration of a Ship would probably be wanting in the Pontifical of an inland diocese, also the office for the reception of an Archbishop's pall might perhaps be omitted. Neither are given in the Clifford and Lansdowne MSS. But this train of reasoning is not a very solid one upon which to rely: for in neither of the two MSS. just mentioned is the service for pilgrims to be found. The Bishop probably had this in his Missal.

In the Exeter Pontifical, printed by Mr. Barnes, is an office: *Ad laudandum Dominum pro miraculo*; and also a *Benedictio pecorum*: "*Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, eterne Deus, defende pecora nostra, per hanc creaturam salis et aque, a rapacibus luporum morsibus et canum,*" etc., both of which offices were probably unusual.

The following list of the contents of a Pontifical has been drawn up from the two Museum MSS., Lansd., 451, and Add., 6,157, and from the tables of the contents of various Pontificals in Mr. Frere's *Pontifical Services*, more especially from that of Bishop Clifford, which, in its agreement with the Lansdowne MS., forms the basis of the list now given. This list may be taken to represent the contents of a very ample medieval Pontifical; but the very remarkable fact is to be noted, that no remaining Pontifical appears to contain the text for all the services that a medieval Bishop would have required.

THE CONTENTS OF A PONTIFICAL.

The Calendar.

Ordination Services.

Confirmation.





PLACING RELICS IN AN ALTAR
FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY PONTIFICAL

Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 451, leaf 136 b



CONSECRATION OF A VIRGIN
FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY PONTIFICAL

Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 451, leaf 63 b



ENCLOSING AN ANCHORITE
FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY PONTIFICAL

Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 451, leaf 76 b



RECONCILIATION OF A PENITENT
FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY PONTIFICAL

Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 451, leaf 82 b

- Pontifical Vesting and Mass.
- Rubrics concerning Colours.
- Forms for the Installation of an Abbot and Abbess.
- The Blessing of Pilgrims.
- The Blessing of a Widow.
- The Enclosing of an Anchorite.
- The Services of Ash-Wednesday and Maundy-Thursday.
- The Reconciliation of an Apostate.
- The Order for a Synod.
- Coronation Services.
- The Consecration of a Church, a Bishop, a Virgin, a Cemetery, an Altar, a Portable Slab, a Ship.
- The Blessing of a Foundation-stone.
- The Deposition of Relics in an Altar.
- Forms for the Degradation of a Heretic, Acolyte, Sub-deacon, etc.
- The Reception of an Archbishop's Pall.
- The List of Days when an Archbishop should use his Pall.
- Enthronement of an Archbishop.
- The Reconciliation of a Church or Churchyard after Violation.
- Benedictions of Bells, Chalices, Processional Banners, Military Flags, Vestments, Books, Shrines, Figures of Saints, a new House, etc., etc.
- The Profession of Canons Regular and Monks and Nuns.
- A Form of Excommunication.
- The Services of Baptism, Marriage, Purification of Women, Visitation of the Sick, and Burial of the Dead.
- Often the Benedictional was included in the volume.

The British Museum MS., Cott. Roll xiii. 4, is a roll of vellum some four inches wide and three or four feet in length, containing offices from the Pontifical. The text commences :—

“*Officium ad primam tonsuram.* Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini. Qui fecit,” etc. A little lower occur various Benedictions—of a Chalice, a Paten, etc., etc., also “*Ad reconciliandum ornamenta ecclesie,*” etc.

Possibly these offices were thus copied from the service-book for the sake of the greater portability of the text when only such offices were required.

In the British Museum, MS. 29,704, is a scrap-book containing some fine initial letters, etc., cut out of an old service-book, probably for the sake of their beauty. Within one of these letters is a miniature depicting the consecration of a church, the special feature of the picture being the procession round the outside of the building. One of those taking part in the procession is seen to be holding a long roll before him, which is apparently covered with words and musical notation and obviously in use in place of a book. A reproduction of this little picture will be found among the facsimiles of this volume.

The text of the earliest English Pontifical (an early tenth century MS.) has been edited by Mr. Greenwell and published by the Surtees Society.

The following also are accessible in print :—

The Pontifical Offices of David de Bernham (St. Andrew's), Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. No. 1,218; Latin, by G. H. Forbes and Rev. C. Wordsworth. Edinburgh, 1885.



EPISCOPAL BENEDICTION

FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY PONTIFICAL

Brit. Mus. MS. Lansd. 151, leaf 198.
The Benedictional is here shown in use



CONSECRATION OF A CHURCH

FROM A COLLECTION OF CUTTINGS

Brit. Mus. MS. 27,904, leaf 34

The Lacy Pontifical (Exeter, fifteenth century), by R. Barnes. 1847.

The Pontifical (Sarum, fifteenth century). Camb. Univ., MS. Mm. iii. 21, by W. Maskell, in *Mon. Rit.*

Some others are given in part by Martene, Maskell, Henderson, and Wordsworth.

Mr. Leopold G. Wickham Legg is preparing to edit (for the H. Bradshaw Society) the *Pontificale Lanalatense* (from Rouen, MS. 362), which is said to be an Anglo-Breton book of the tenth century; and Mr. H. A. Wilson, a twelfth-century MS. (Magdalene College, Oxon., MS. 226) for the same Society.

Mr. Frere's handsome volumes, illustrated with many facsimiles, and published by the Alcuin Club, are full of information respecting this service-book. (L.)

THE BENEDICTIONAL

This book was the second of the two service-books appertaining to the use of a Bishop.

The learned Maskell describes a Benedictional as the book which "contained the episcopal benedictions which were given during the canon of the mass" (*i.e.* between the fraction of the Host and the singing of *Agnus Dei*).¹

The Benedictional is not likely to have been at any time common. It is a service-book which would lie outside the ordinary range of the daily services, and would

¹ Mr. W. H. Frere has given three illustrations of the ceremony of Pontifical Benediction at Mass in his large 4° *Pontifical Services Illustrated*, for Alcuin Club, 1900. Collections, IV., plates 25, 36, and 38, from Clifford's Pontifical, 1397; Lansdowne MS. 451 (? 1350), and Longland's (Lincoln) Pontifical, c. 1521. In the two last the open Benedictional is portrayed.

not be one among the books usually belonging to a parish church. It is, very naturally, never mentioned in any list of the service-books of a parish church nor in medieval churchwardens' accounts.

The Benedictional is not an intricate volume. So far as the text proper is concerned, it is perhaps the most simple of all service-books, though much other matter will be found appended to it in the later period of its history.

The very large size of the letters of the text at times to be met with may be explained by the fact that the Benedictional had to be held up for the use of the bishop while his own hands were occupied (see Plate xxix.); but the text is often not very large.

The eleventh-century MS. Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,892, is a good example of an early Benedictional.

The book is about twelve inches high, with the text very boldly written and occupying about two hundred leaves. There is no other ornament than that afforded by the difference in colouring of the letters of the rubrics.

Opening the book at random, at lf. 30 we find the rubric: *Dominica iiii post Epiphaniam*; then follows the threefold Benediction, each little section consisting of some three or four lines. The first begins *Temptationum omnium*, the second *Temptatoris fraudes*, and the third *Continue pacis*. Each of the three concludes with "Amen," and after the third are the words *Quod ipse prestare dignetur*,¹ which is the shortened form for *Quod ipse prestare dignetur, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum. Amen. Benedictio dei*

¹ Occasionally, instead of this clause, there was a conclusion, "*Ille vos benedicat de celis*," etc.

tissimo ipsius regno collocemini: aō.
Q uod ipse prestare dignetur.
Finunt dominicales benedic-
tiones post epiphaniā. Sequuntur
benedictiones a septuagesima
usque in pascha.

DOMINICA IN SEPTUAGESIMA. ✠

O m̃ps d̃s ita stadium ur̃i cur-
sus dirigere dignetur. ut bra-
uium uos eterne uite con-
prehendere faciat. Aō. Amen.

E t ita uos armis abstinentie
circumdat. ut nullis huius
uite impedimentis ab eter-
na puentione retardemini: aō.

Q uicq; uos uinea sua uocare.
uobisq; scōs oparios mittere
dignatus est. ipse uos sua
gr̃a dignetur excolere. ut de
nario uite perhennis uos
remunerari concedat. Aō. Amen.

A PAGE OF AN ELEVENTH CENTURY BENEDICTIONAL

(AFTER EPIPHANY AND FOR SEPTUAGESIMA)

Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2.892, leaf 51

patris, et filii et spiritus sancti; et pax eius sit semper vobiscum. Amen. Then comes the next rubric for another Sunday: *Dominica V. post Epiphaniam*, and so on.

Such is the ordinary plan of the text of the Benedictional. At times, however, the Benediction is not always threefold; sometimes it has six or more clauses, or even as many as sixteen. At times, too, at the conclusion of the *Quod ipse*, etc., in place of the rubric indicating the next occasion, we find a rubric, *Item alia Benedictio*, and a second (threefold) Benediction is supplied on exactly the same plan as the former. At times, too, the rubrics are slightly more ample; and various other matter is introduced which may take the form of an antiphon or a prayer, etc., as on Palm Sunday. But the main text of the book is carried through, as a rule, very simply; first comes the rubric indicating the occasion, then the threefold Benediction, and then the almost invariable termination, *Quod ipse*, etc.

The Bodleian MS., Rawlinson, C. 425, from the account given in Dr. Wickham Legg's third volume of his Westminster Missal, is probably a monastic Benedictional of the fourteenth century.

The Brit. Mus. MS. 21,974 is a Benedictional of the sixteenth century.

The ordinary Benedictions of a Pontifical or Manual are those of *things*, while those of the Benedictional proper are for *seasons*, an important distinction. The Benedictional was often inserted in the Pontifical.

The eighth and ninth volumes among the books mentioned in Cap. viii. of the Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey, taken in 1388, which Dr. Wickham Legg

has edited for *Archæologia*, Lond., lii., were "*benedictionales, cum coronacione regum et aliis in eisdem contentis.*"

The Benedictional, generally perfectly plain, was at times richly illuminated.

The eleventh century MS., Brit. Mus., Tib., B. III., contains, at the end of the volume, pictures over English rhyming invocations to saints: but the connexion of this part of the book with those leaves forming the Benedictional proper is not assured. Certainly the matter so appended is no part of the text of the Benedictional proper.

Of remaining Benedictionals probably one of the finest is that now in the library of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. The text of this magnificent volume has been edited by Mr. Gage, and printed in vol. xxiv. of *Archæologia* (1832), with many reproductions of its pages in facsimile.

Mr. Gage tells us that the MS. is the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, sometime Bishop of Winchester, that the book is eleven inches and a half in height, and contains one hundred and nineteen leaves in the best preservation. Mr. Gage also describes the book as being most richly decorated, and as having been executed in England between 963 and 984.

MS. latin 987 in the National Library at Paris is apparently a somewhat similar Benedictional to that at Chatsworth. M. Léopold Delisle thus writes of it in his *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*, Paris, 1886, 4°, p. 217:—

"Il est impossible d'ouvrir ce beau livre sans être frappé de l'éclat des grandes initiales d'or qui ornent tous les articles de la partie principale du volume . . ."

“Je crois donc que notre manuscrit latin 987 doit être considéré comme le bénédictionnaire de l'abbaye de Ramsey que fut offert à Gauzlin vers l'année 1010 ou 1020. C'est un magnifique specimen de l'art anglo-saxon, de la fin du X^e siècle, dont l'écriture et les ornements rapellent tout à fait les bénédictionnaires de saint Æthelwold et de l'archevêque Robert.”

The Pontifical and Benedictional of Archbishop Robert (of Rouen?), has been lately edited by the Rev. H. A. Wilson for the H. Bradshaw Society, 1902.

The text of a fourteenth-century Benedictional is supplied by collation with the text of the Benedictional forming part of the Westminster Missal in the second volume of Dr. Wickham Legg's Westminster Missal, columns 533-672 (H. Bradshaw Society). The text of another Benedictional of the fourteenth century is printed in Barnes's edition (1847) of Bishop Lacy's Exeter Pontifical, of which volume it forms part; viz. pp. 152-205, *Benedictiones dominicales et festivales*, edite a ven. fratre Jo. de Peckam, *archiepiscopo Cantuar.* (1278-94), and pp. 205-8, an appendix for Corpus Christi, etc.

Mr. C. Wordsworth's Appendix IV. to the *Pontifical Offices of David De Bernham*, 4°, 1885, relates to “*benedictiones episcopales*,” of which the editor has printed an index of twelve pages; which might be enlarged.

See also the Egbert Pontifical, Surtees Soc., 1853; and the Leofric Missal, ed. F. E. Warren, 4°, 1883. (L.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE BOOKS FOR DIRECTING PUBLIC SERVICES

THE earlier rolls and books of ritual were devoid of rubrics for directing the ceremonial which accompanied the rite. Even down to the eleventh and twelfth centuries rubrical directions would be confined to such occasional services as are found in the Manual or the Pontifical, while the Mass-book and the Collect-book would contain little or nothing of the kind, except so far as the former contained occasional services "*in agenda mortuorum*," and the like.

But we may point to such documents as the *Ordines Romani*, which begin to appear in MSS. which were written about the beginning of the ninth century, and which are believed to have been compiled about A.D. 730,¹ in some original now lost, and to describe the rites of the seventh century in considerable detail, particularly those which concerned papal or pontifical ceremonies.

Reference is made to "*Ordo Romanus*" in the Mass-book which Leofric (d. 1072) gave to Exeter (p. 261), with reference to candles in Holy Week, and likewise to orders or customs of the Roman Church as regards ordinations

¹ Dr. Swete mentions a Frankish Capitulum A.D. 742 (Baluz. i. 824) requiring every priest to draw up his own *libellus ordinis* for himself, and to submit it for his Bishop's approval (*Church Services and Service Books*, p. 100).

in the tenth-century MS. of the *Egbert Pontifical* (p. 8), and the (so-called) "*Book of St. Cuthbert*," at Sidney Sussex College, fo. 3^b; for Consecration of a Bishop in *Lacy's* (Exeter) *Pontifical*, cir. 1420, pp. 97, 99, and for Benediction of an Abbot of Canons, p. 110; as well as for the "*Benedictio Reginae*" in *Roger de Mortival's Pontifical* (Sarum), cir. 1315, p. 222, ap. Henderson's *Pontifical*, and for the form of holding a Provincial Council, in the thirteenth-century *Coventry Pontifical* (Camb. Univ., MS. Ff. vi. 9), fo. 75. But the *Ordo Romanus* is not usually cited for the more usual services. Once indeed the "*usus Romanus*" is noticed in the Sarum Breviary, but only to speak of its divergence from the local rite, and that in the then modern service of Corpus Christi; and it is in the later portion of the book (that is to say, in the Pye) that the observation occurs (*Brev. Sar.*, i. p. mxxx).

The writings of Amalarius of Treves in the early part of the ninth century provided some rules of ritual. A copy was given by Leofric to Exeter about the tenth century (Trin. Coll., Cam., MS. B. xi. 2); and another of the twelfth century is at Corpus College, Cambridge (MS. 416), and, as Dr. James says, may have come from Ely. Another, from Bury St. Edmund's, he tells us, found its way to Pembroke College, Cambridge. See also the Corpus MSS. 192, from Ch. Ch., Canterbury, written in 950; 319, thirteenth century.

In the early directions as to the books which every one of the clergy in this country was to procure and study before advancement to the priesthood, the only things which concerned the matter in hand were of the nature of a kalendar.

"Let him get ready his weapons, his *psalterium* . . .

et *compotum* et † *ciclo*, hoc est jus sacerdotum," etc., says Egbert's Penitential, *cir.* 766-91 (H. and S., *Concil.*, iii. 417).

The Canons of Ælfric, assigned to A.D. 957 by Johnson, 970 by Wilkins, and *cir.* 1005 by later writers, are by some ascribed to the Archbishop of that name, who was consecrated for Ramsbury in 990, and Primate 995-1005, were addressed to "Wulfinus episcopus";¹ and they speak in like manner of the "weapons" which the priest must have ready for his "spiritual work." "Saltere, a Pistol boc, godspel boc, a mæsse boc, Sang bec, a hand boc, *Gerim*, a Passionalem, Penitentionalem, a reading boc."

"*Gerim*" (A.S. *rim* = number, reckoning—whence, by misspelling, our word *rhyme*, allied with ἀριθμός, rather than with ῥέω, or ῥυθμός) is a kalendar, and is translated "*numerales*" in Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 252, while Spelman (*Conc.*, i. 577) retains the original "*Gerim*." Perhaps "*compotus*" would have been the best equivalent, as that is the word used in the Penitential.

In the Mass-book which Leofric gave to Exeter (now in the Bodleian at Oxford) is bound up an Anglo-Saxon kalendar with Paschal Tables written in the southern province of England about 970, and most probably acquired by Leofric after bringing over the Sacramentary with which he incorporated it in 1042. In that volume it now occupies ff. 38-58; and its text, with five facsimiles or reproductions, which we will describe presently, is accessible in Mr. Warren's edition (1883), pp. 21-58. It contains "Argumentum de bisexto, Computus de singulis mensibus,

¹ It is difficult to identify "Wulfin." Wulfsige was Bishop of Sherborne, 992-1001; Wulfstan appears at London 996-1003, and at Worcester and York, 1003-23. It may be doubted whether Elfric, the author of these "Canons," was a Bishop at the time of writing them.

de regularibus, concurrentibus et epactis." A kalendar in the usual form. "Bedæ ephemeris, de signis zodiaci, ætas lunæ, nomina vii. dierum ebdomadis, versus de singulis mensibus." "*Primus romanus ordiris, Jane, kalendas,*" etc., with other memorial verses. "Argumenta," for finding Advent, Paschal Term, etc. A very brief computation of years from Adam (B.C. 4952) to anti-christ (who would appear in A.D. 999, according to the old chiliastic theory), the "good" and "bad" days of the moon (for blood-letting, etc.), times when the moon rises and duration of moonlight, number of weeks from Christmas to Lent, age of the moon and tidal table, and lastly the "*horologium*," in six circles, giving (if we mistake not) a shepherd's sundial, to find the time by the length of his shadow, at three and nine o'clock. The other figures, which (with some other items) we have passed by, are these: (1) *Dextera Domini*: a hand, on the joints of which are inscribed the Paschal Golden Numbers belonging to nineteen days marked within the term from March 21st to April 18th; as in the margin of the Prayer Book kalendar, *mutatis mutandis* for the current cycle; (2) and (3) figures of *Vita* and *Mors* (personified in Christ and Satan), with prognostication of man's life or death according to the sphere of Apuleius (cf. Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, iii. p. 150, from the Cottonian MSS., Tib. A. 3; Calig. A. 15, from the moon's age, where they are combined in two concentric circles); Figs. (4) and (5) two Paschal Circles of Dionysius. On page 50 are the fifty-second and fifty-third tables of Dionysius, serving for the years 969-1006, much like our Prayer Book table to find Easter for a term of years. The margin of the MS. has been used to note the death of such personages as King Edgar in 976, and King Edward

in 979; Archbishop Æthelwold, 984; Dunstan, 988; "Bishop" Æthelgar, 990; Archbishop Oswald, 992; and Sigeric, 994.

A kalendar of the ordinary kind is, as we have seen, included (usually at the beginning) in almost every species of medieval service-books, as well as in some of the earlier ones; *e.g.* the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, *cir.* 1013. This has before the almanac a Ratio calculandi, for Golden Numbers, Regulars and Epacts, and after it (ff. 12-25a) a series of tables and rules *de Computo Ecclesiastico*, some of which are the same as in Leofric's book. The paschal tables in Archbishop Robert's book served for the years 1000 to 1095.

The *Compotus* at a later period took a somewhat different form. The rules to find Easter, the recurrence of holy days (*festæ immobilia*) in the kalendar, and suchlike matters became a lecture subject in the course of Arts at Oxford, and a little text-book called "*Compotus manualis [parvus] in usum Oxoniensium*" was printed at Oxford in 1519-20. It also became popularised in the "*Kalendar of the Shepherdis*,"¹ translated from the French. The most famous books on the subject (after such early writers as Bede and Dionysius Exiguus) were, perhaps, Garland, Grosseteste, J. de Sacrobosco (Halifax, or Holywood, *cir.* 1256), Durandus (1286), Alex. de Villa Dei, and in the fifteenth century Anianus. The larger *Compotus* of Alex. de Villa Dei was superseded by the metrical *Compotus*² *parvus* of Anianus, of which numerous editions (usually

¹ See the facsimile edition by Dr. H. O. Sommer, 1892.

² The word "*compotus*" and "*compost*" is really derived from "*componere*," not from "*computare*," though the idea of reckoning accounts ("*jactandi compotum*") or doing arithmetic naturally suggested a connexion with "*computatio*."

with a prose gloss) appeared at Rome, Strasburg, Lyons, Basle, Rouen, Paris, London, and Oxford, in 1486-1529. Portions of this ("quedam regule secundum parvum compotum Eccl. Romane") are found also in MS., and were included in the Sarum Missal of 1500, 1503-5, and 1557 (ed. Burntisland, pp. 10**-15**), the Breviary of 1530, and the Manual of 1523 and 1554. Also in the York Pye, 1509-10 (see *Directorium Sacerdotum*, ii. pp. 607-37, where extracts are given also from the Sarum *Horae* of 1535-6, and a reference to the edition by Vostre, 1507).

The title *Numerale* is given to a treatise by W. de Montibus (or de Monte, called also W. of Leicester), Chancellor of Lincoln *cir.* 1192-1213, whose form for Benediction of the Eyes of the Sick is included in some editions of the Sarum Manual (ed. Henderson, p. 32*. See MS., St. John's, Oxon., 47, early fifteenth century, which superseded the old forms of the "Durham Ritual," p. 115, and Egbert's Pontifical, p. 134. See *Lacnunga*, §92, in Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, iii. 60, 62). The thirteenth-century *Numerale* at Peterhouse (MS. 2. 5. 6) begins, "*Unus Deus : Ingredientibus artem,*" etc. Cf. *Summa numerorum, quæ vocatur numerale*," at New College, Oxon., MS. 98, beginning, "*Deus unus est.*" It was the gift of Wykeham, and cost 10s. At Caius, MS. 230, §14, is "*Numerale secundum ordinem alphabeti.*" See Parker MSS. 186 and 356 (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries); Balliol, MS. E. 14; Merton, P. 4. 8. W. de Montibus wrote also a *Penitential*, *Tropi ecclesiasti*, etc. A copy of his *Numerale* was among the books given to Winchester College shortly after its foundation in 1394.

The book usually begins, "*Compotus est talis, proprie dictus manualis.*" This refers to the use made of the finger-joints (*juncturae*) and open palm of the human hand, which Bede and subsequent writers employ in the *memoria technica* for computing Sunday letters, leap

years, etc., by assigning syllables or words of the memorial lines "*Filius esto Dei*," "*Fructus alit canos*," "*Cambit edens grifo*," etc., or the letters of the alphabet *a-g* to the several joints of the fingers (sometimes exclusive of the thumb). The printed editions, after the earliest, contain from four to nine diagrams of hands thus marked, besides tables of the zodiac and Sunday letter.

A description of the "*Compotus Manualis*," with the text of that "*in usum Oxoniensium*," 1519-20, is now in the press, for the Oxford Historical Society, edited by Chr. W. (1904).

A "*Kalendarium*" will be found in almost every reprint or edition of a medieval service-book.

A more important part in the direction of the services was played by the *Ordinale* and the "Consuetudinary" (or, in later times, the Pye and the "Customary").

The two are sometimes found in combination, but, strictly speaking, the Custom-book gives the general rules relating to the *Ordo divini servitii*, and the *Ordinale* applies them week by week throughout the course of the year.

Osmund of Sarum (who was subsequently canonised in 1456-7) gave *instituta*, or an *institution*, and probably an *Ordinale* or *Consuetudines chori*, to his cathedral church, the fame and use of which spread far and wide. About 1195 or earlier there were Constitutions of Sarum Chapter, but it was not until about 1210, when Richard Poore was Dean of Old Sarum, and matters were tending to a removal of his church to Salisbury itself, that the Dean and future Bishop of the see finished his famous Consuetudinary, as an *explanatio*, or exposition, of St. Osmund's "institution." This has been edited for the Cambridge Press by

Mr. Frere (*Use of Sarum*, part i., 1898). This "*Consuetudinarium*" of 1210, revised about 1245, contains the Customs of Sarum respecting—

- (a) The principal *Personae* of the staff ;
- (b) The customs of the Choir ;
- (c) The customs of the Canonical Hours ;
- (d) Of the Processions ;
- (e) Of the Mass ;
- (f) Customs in Lent and for Maundy Thursday ;
- (g) For Vigils of the Dead.

About 1385 we find in certain MSS. a development of the above-mentioned book, under the title of "*Custumarium*," which says less than its predecessor about Mass¹ or procession, but it has fuller directions about the "Divine Service" of the choir, and contains additional sections as to the responds at Mattins, "Collation," Marti-loge, the wooden cross in Lent, the Easter Sepulchre, the paschal taper, Mattins at Evensong-time, the occasional omission of "*Expositio evangelii*" at Mattins (*Use of Sarum*, i. pp. 213-22). It will be easily understood that the Custom-books became the quarry from which the rubrics of the later Breviaries and Missals were constructed. It is interesting to find one of the fifteenth-century MSS. (Harl. 2911) adapted for parochial and conventual churches (*Use of Sarum*, i. p. 14).

At Lincoln customs of the Chapter were written down for the benefit of Chapters in Scotland, who asked for information *cir.* 1214. Another set of customs was put in writing at some time in the middle of the thirteenth century. But the Lincoln Chapter preferred to go by

¹ The Mass, however, is treated at considerable length in cap. 66, but not under Advent Sunday and Monday, etc.

tradition, rather than to be bound by "scripture of books." However, about 1279 their liturgical "Customs of Divine Service" were committed to writing. All these (with documents from some other cathedral churches) have been printed at Cambridge in Bradshaw and Wordsworth's *Liber Niger* and "Statutes" (3 vols., 1892-7).

The "*Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of St. Augustine, Canterbury* (from a MS. *cir.* 1325-33), and *St. Peter, Westminster*" (MS. Cotton, Otho C. xi.), with an earlier form of the Canterbury Customs, or *Consuetudines fratrum* (MS. Gonv. Cai., 211, § 1), is being edited by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., for the H. Bradshaw Society. Vol. i. has been issued in 1902.

Another Benedictine *Consuetudinary* (and *Ordinal*) of the fourteenth (and fifteenth) centuries is that of Peterborough, now at Lambeth Palace, codd. 198*a*, 198*b*, from which C. Wordsworth edited the kalendar for *Archæologia Lond.*, vol. 51, in 1888.

Among nine churches and chapels visited by the Dean of Sarum in 1220 three are named as having an *Ordinale* (Sunning, Heytesbury-collegiate, Hill Deverel—in nine sheets). Four years later St. Peter's, Swallowcliffe, is reported for not having any *Ordinale*; and the last-named church is named also as having "no *Consuetudinarium*" (*Osmund Reg.*, i. 276-311). Perhaps as the latter book was of new introduction about 1224, there was at first some thought of making it a requisite. But this seems to have been carried no further in the case of Sarum parish churches. But the absence of any *Ordinale* was noted at Brent Pelham by the Dean of St. Paul's, in 1252; and similarly in the diocese of York in 1409 and 1416, at St. Martin le Conyngstrete and at Accolm (*St. Paul's Churches*,

Visitations, p. 20; *York Minster Fabric Rolls*, pp. 247, 249). One-third of the churches dependent on St. Paul's in 1249-52 had an Ordinal, that at St. Pancras being "*intersertum*" in the Antiphoner.

Not a single Consuetudinary is reported from the fifteen churches visited by the Dean of St. Paul's in 1249-52. Perhaps we may infer that at this date the Antiphoners, Breviaries, and Missals had incorporated the main portion of it in their rubrics.

"The Sarum Customs, as set forth in the *Consuetudinary* (*cir.* 1220, etc.) and *Customary* (*cir.* 1385-1450)," edited by Walter Howard Frere, 8vo, 1895, for the Cambridge University Press. *Use of Sarum*, vol. i. (see also Dr. D. Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, vol. iv., 8vo, 1849-53). Dolman. A new edition is now in preparation. Also by Dr. Ja. H. Todd, 1845-7, in the *British Magazine*, vols. xxvii.-xxxii. And (with an English translation) by W. H. Rich Jones, for the Rolls Series, large 8vo, "*Register of St. Osmund*, 1st vol., 1883.

Lincoln Consuetudinarium de Divinis Officiis, *cir.* 1260, in Bradshaw and Wordsworth's *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, 1st vol., 8vo, Cambridge, 1892, pp. 363-96.

"Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and St. Peter's, Westminster" (*cir.* 1330), edited by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., for the H. Bradshaw Society, 8vo, vol. i., 1902; vol. ii. in the press. Benedictine *Consuetudines Sublacenses* (*cir.* 1350-1401) have been printed for St. Mary's Abbey, Buckfast, Devon, post 8vo, 1903.

The ORDINALE may be described as *liturgical*, where the Consuetudinary is *ritualistic*. The *Ordinale*, while not saying much about the duties of the various personages engaged, in any general section, is occupied in detailing the proper office throughout the yearly course. It is therefore more definitely a service-book, that is to say, a

collection of rules which became the rubrics, *planted out* in the several service-books. Thus the terms "*ordinarius*" and "*breviarius*" were sometimes used interchangeably in continental churches, and even the Sarum *Breviarium*, which was essentially a book of service, is described in its colophon (1531) as "*famosissime ac inter occiduas nominatissime ecclesie Sarum Diuini officij per totius anni curriculum tam de tempore quam de sanctis cum pica ordinarium,*" and on its title-page, "*Breviarium, seu horarium domesticum, siue choro ecclesiastico deseruiens, ad vsum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis, cum integro ordinario suo, proprijs suis locis accomodate inserto.*"

Mr. Frere has edited the Sarum "*Antiquum Ordinale*" (*Use of Sarum*, ii. pp. 1-193), *cir.* 1270, with important excerpts from the "*Ordinale novum*," *cir.* 1350-65 (ii. pp. 208-33), the remainder being extant in the rubric of the printed books. That it was in existence in some form or other previous to 1270 may be inferred from the fact that references to an *Ordinale* are found in the older text of the *Consuetudinarium* (*Use of Sarum*, i. 63, 157 n.).

A considerable portion of the Exeter *Ordinale* was edited by Mr. Reynolds, folio, 1881-4, from that which Bishop J. de Grandisson compiled in 1337 from the Exeter and Sarum Ordinals (MS. Eccl. Cathedr. Exon., 3502; cf. Corpus Christi College, Camb., Parker MS. 93, § 3).

Besides a *kalendar* and a "*Consuetudines generales capituli*," it contains the *Ordinale Diuini officii*, de Tempore, de Hystoriis, de Dedicacione ecclesie, de Proprio Sanctorum and de Communi (all published); De Missa (for Temporale, Dedication, Sanctorale, and Commune), de Commemoracionibus B. Marie et S. Crucis, Missa pro

fratribus et sororibus, pro pace, pro serenitate aeris, and in quacumque tribulacione; De *Alleluia* in pleno seruicio B. V. Marie; pro Defunctis. There is also (after the Martiloge) a section on the *Kyrie*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus*; and an interesting Ordinale officiorum B. V. Marie in capella, composed by Bishop Grandisson to commemorate the seven principal joys of our Lady on the different days of the week,¹ and lastly, "Benedicciones dicende [ad matutinas]." In 1337 the Bishop inquired at his visitation of Exeter Cathedral whether the *Ordinale* and *Consuetudinarium* had been made perfect (*Register*, ii. p. 860, ed. Hingeston-Randolph). He had called for a "sufficient Ordinal and Consuetudinary, *in quibus discrepant ab usu Sarum vel aliarum ecclesiarum*" (i. p. 436), as he had done at a previous visitation.

Recourse was frequently had to Salisbury Chapter in case of difficulties. Thus in 1278-9 the succentor, J. de Middleton, was employed to certify their answers on various points (*Use of Sarum*, ii. pp. 196-207); and about 1342 Precentor T. de Welewick appears to have written an Ordinale (see ii. p. 229). But in the fifteenth century the Sarum folk were losing their prestige. About 1370 Wyclif began to ridicule "the ordynal of Salisbury" from the Protestant point of view, as "letting moche prechynge of the gospel" (*Works*, ed. F. D. Matthew, E. E. T. Soc., pp. 188-96). The introduction of the Corpus Christi festival, about 1318, had made portions of it obsolete; and about 1450 T. Raynton composed, at the instance of Dr. T. Gascoigne, Chancellor of Oxford and of York, a treatise called *Crede Michi* (*Tracts of Clement Maydeston*,

¹ Trin. Coll., Cam., MS. B. 11. 16, sec. xv., contains Exeter Lectiones de Commem. B.V.M.

pp. xxxvi, xxxvii). A few years later, about 1455, one of Wykeham's early Winchester scholars, Clement Maydeston, having become a "deacon" (though advanced to priest's order) of the Brigittine convent of Syon, near Richmond on Thames, enlarged the work of Raynton, and prefixed to his *Crede Michi* a series of articles, in which he criticises certain "*responsiones*" of the men of Sarum of his day, and bewails the degeneracy of their church, "which used to be so bright a light (*tam clara lucerna*) to the country." Maydeston undertook a larger task in compiling a *Directorium*, or "Pye" ("*pica Sarum*"), so called because it was a book in black and white without red letters. Something of the kind was found in some copies of the Breviary, where the "magpie" colours (*pica*) of its pages stand out noticeably in juxtaposition to the rubricated services. These, and the fuller *Directorium* of Maydeston and his followers, still sometimes retained the old name of *Ordinale*. Caxton printed an edition of the *Ordinale* in 1477-8. His famous advertisement is extant. He also printed Maydeston's *Directorium*, or *Ordinale* in 1487 and in 1489, and his successor, Wynken de Worde, another in 1495.¹ One also appeared from Gerard Leeu's Antwerp press in 1488. To these Maydeston's "*Defensorium Directorii*" and "*Crede Michi*" were appended. About 1496 W. Clerke, of Eton, and Chanter of King's College, who was a domestic of Archbishop Rotherham, and who was married, and therefore presumably only in minor orders, was appointed by the University of Cambridge to revise the work of Maydeston. Seven editions of his book appeared from the presses of Pynson and W. de Worde between the years 1497-1508. In 1509 Clerke

¹ See Plate xxxi.

Secūdum L xvij v vij iij

De sancta Cristina. cū noctūno. Caplm. Confitebor.
 Missa de vigilia. ¶ Vbi fiūt tres cōmōdēs. In. iij.
 feria fiat vna cōe? Ad vs in sabbo ā. Rex autē dauid
 sub silentio fiat ⁊ de trinita? s; nulla pcessio. ¶ Oñi
 ra. ix. de scō iacobo. Inferi? dup. Vesp̃ erūt de aplo.
 ⁊ solēnis memō de scā anna. ⁊ memō de dñica sub si
 lentio. ¶ fe. ij. de scā anna. Inuit. triplex. ix. lectōes.
 ¶ fe. iij. d̃ dormientib?. Inuit. duplex. tres lec. Missa
 dñicalis erit lūna missa. ¶ fe. iij. d̃ festo loci. ¶ fe
 ria. v. de martyrib?. Inuit. duplex. R. de. ij? n? ¶ fe.
 vi. de martyrib?. R. de iij? n? ¶ Sabbo de scā maria
 ¶ Vbi fiūt tres cōmemōnes. In. v. feria fiat vna p?
 Et tūc in. vi. feria. dicūt R̃ia de ij? n? ¶ Ab hac die
 vsq; ad inceptōnē historie (Domine ne in ira) accipi
 atur lectōum L pro littera dñicali.

Secūdum L xvij v vij iij

¶ Feria. v. in crastino octa? epiphanie de scō felice
 tres lec. Caplm. Dis pontifex. Ad missaz dicāt qnq;
 Collecte. ¶ fer. vi. de festo loci. ¶ Sabbo de scā mā
 ⁊ meō de martyre. ¶ Vbi fiūt tres cōmemōnes. in. v.
 fe. fiat vna p? ¶ Oñica. prima post octa. epipha? lit
 tera dñical L xvi. kal. februarj. inchoet histō (Dñe
 ne in ira) Medie lec. de scō sulpicio. In laud. oēs añe
 dicāt. ¶ fe. ij. d̃ festo loci. ¶ fe. iij. d̃ scō vultano. ix.
 lec. de cōi. ¶ fe. iij. d̃ martyrib? fabiano ⁊ sebastia?
 ix. lect. Caplm. Justor̃ aie. ¶ fe. v. de sancta agnete.
 ix. lectōes. Caplm. Confitebor. ¶ fe. vi. d̃ sancto vin
 centio. ix. lec. ¶ Sabbo de scā mā. Nihil fiat d̃ tertia
 cōmēmo? in hac hebda. ¶ Oñica. ij. tota cāte? histō.

i iij

and his wife were buried in York Minster. In 1507 W. de Worde had devised a plan which soon put an end to the sale of Maydeston's and Clerke's books. He abbreviated it, and rearranged it so as to bind it in two halves with the two volumes of the Sarum Portos, and exhorted purchasers to read the requisite lines before Evensong each Saturday. In 1509 another plan (which had been previously tried in 1501) became established. The "pye," instead of being printed continuously for a series of the thirty-five varieties of years, was rearranged (in its shortened form), and incorporated in the Breviary, as introductory to each week or season in the *Temporale*. In addition to this, an old short "pye" for the "histories" after Trinity was also retained¹ (see, e.g., *Brev. Sarum*, i. pp. mccxlii-iv, as compared with pp. mccxlv, mccxvi). The short pye (p. mccxli, etc.) is really a pye of "*two* commemorations," serviceable for churches which, like Salisbury itself, were dedicated in honour of St. Mary, the Blessed Virgin, and which therefore had only one weekly commemoration (of St. Thomas, M.), which was observed as a rule (*i.e.* if that day were not otherwise occupied, as was very frequently the case) on Tuesdays, besides St. Mary's, which was kept on Saturday when that day was free. The longer "pye" (on p. mccxliii, bottom, to mccclvi, and in other parts of the book) answered to what Caxton advertised in 1477-8 as a pye "of two *and* thre commemoracions of Salisburi vse," *i.e.* it provided not only for such churches as we have mentioned, but for those which, being dedicated in honour of some saint other than St. Mary, had to find room each week, if possible, for a "*tercia commemoracio*,"

¹ It is found in the earliest printed Sarum Breviary of 1483. See *Tracts of Maydeston*, pp. 131-51.

one in honour of their *festum loci*, or local dedication (perhaps on Thursday), as well as for those of St. Mary and St. Thomas.

The reason why there are thirty-five varieties of almanac for a great portion of the year is not far to seek. The purpose of an ecclesiastical almanac for any year, or type of years, is to provide for a combination of the ordinary kalendar and its *fixed* feasts, with the concurrence and occurrence of those *movable* feasts and seasons which depend on the date of Easter Day. Easter Day itself, if it were kept like Christmas or Lady Day, irrespective of the day of the week, might fall on any of the twenty-eight days which make up a lunar month. For it is regulated by the fourteenth day of Nisan, or the full moon¹ on or next after March 21st. But the Christian Easter Day is always the *Sunday* on or after that date. Therefore there are seven other days possible; so that paschal-term consists of 28+7, and Easter must fall on one or other of the days from March 22nd to April 25th inclusive. And each of its 5 × 7 variations requires a special form or type of kalendar. Hence the thirty-five "Rules called the Pye." In the old *Directorium* these are grouped under the seven Sunday Letters *A-G* (a more scientific arrangement would have suggested *A, G, F, E, D, C, B*, as in the York book), and each group has five sections answering to the five weeks in which Easter can possibly fall. These are called "*primum A*," "*secundum A*," etc. But as Easter does not influence that part of the year which is most distant from it, it was

¹ The new moon in question is sometimes an *ecclesiastical* (imaginary or "artificial") moon. This is a fortunate arrangement; for if we *always* went by the rising of the moon in the heavens we should in some years be keeping Easter in England at quite a different time from what it would be in New York, etc.

found unnecessary to repeat the sections which would be the same from every year which had the same Sunday letter. So from about the end of July or beginning of August, till about the 9th to the 13th of the following January, a section called, conveniently, “vi. *A*” in Sarum, and, scientifically (plain), “*A*” in York Use, was printed to serve in common for that latter portion every year which has Sunday Letter *A*: and so for the other dominical letters; and thus space was economised.

We may repeat what has been said in another place¹ in an attempt to answer the question, “*What is the Pye?*”:—

“The earliest possible Easter Day (22nd March) has Sunday Letter *D*. We may style the Almanac in which this occurs ‘1 *D*,’ or ‘*D primum*.’ That which has the next earliest Easter will be ‘*E primum*,’ the third ‘*F primum*,’ the fourth ‘*G primum*,’ the fifth ‘*A primum*,’ . . . the eighth ‘*D secundum*’; and so on with the series, until at last we reach the thirty-fifth, which is called ‘*C quintum*,’ and which has the latest possible Easter Day, occurring on April 25th. But the reader will observe that, instead of ending with ‘*C quintum*,’ or ‘*G quintum*’ (for the Sarum Pye adopts the alphabetical order, and also groups all the *A*’s together, and then all the *B*’s, and so forth), the Sarum Pye contains a ‘*Sextum G*,’ and a “*Sextum A*,’ etc. This is so arranged, simply for the sake of making the book more compendious. Further examination will show that these ‘sixth’ sections are not really whole independent years, that they do not make the total nearly up to forty-two, and that there are, in fact, no more than thirty-five different years complete. ‘*A. primum*,’ and all the rest, do not in point of fact, any of them, provide for an entire twelvemonth apiece, but carry us on only from the octave of Epiphany, in January, to a few Sundays after Trinity.

“‘*Sextum A*,’ then (and the like is true of ‘*Sextum B*,’ and

¹ *Directorium Sacerdotum*, ii. p. 671.

all the rest), is a portion available in common for appending to 1*A*, 2*A*, 3*A*, 4*A*, and 5*A* alike, and it serves for the latter part of the Trinity season, and for Advent and Christmas. It also gives guidance for the ensuing New Year and Epiphany, for which, of course, we have to betake ourselves to a new Sunday letter, as is duly noticed in the book itself, section by section, whenever we reach that point."

Just when the Sarum *Directorium* of Clerke's revision was ceasing to be kept in print, T. Hothysall, a vicar-choral at York, revised a "*Pica Ebor*," or York Pye, which had been drawn up by Ro. Avissede, Chaplain of St. Gregory's, at York, and it was printed there by Hugh Goes in 1509-10, with a table of "common" and "leap" years, and solar and lunar cycles, for A.D. 1497-2028, and a preface by Dr. T. Hannibal, or Hannibell, Canon of York, a Cambridge man, incorporated at Oxford, who became Master of the Rolls in 1523. The York Pye was very thoroughly drawn up, so that it included a thirty-sixth section to serve for a peculiar emergency, the occurrence of the Golden Number .viiij. in a leap year with Sunday Letters *D*, *C*, which would have occurred in 1736, if Old Style had been retained. It will not be required under New Style unless the year 2285 is reached. So we cannot much blame the Sarum folk for passing over the contingency in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

"*Ordinale Sarum*" (cir. 1360-1460), edited by W. H. Frere, 8vo, Cambridge Press, 1901 (*Use of Sarum*, vol. ii.). "*Ordinale Sarum*, sive *Directorium Sacerdotum Liber*, quem *Pica Sarum*," etc., edited by W. Cooke and Chr. Wordsworth (from W. de Worde's edition, 1495), for the H. Bradshaw Society, 2 vols. 8vo, 1901-2 (with a specimen of the York *Pica* of 1509-10, in vol. ii. pp. 563-91).

Tracts of Clement Maydeston, 1495, with remains of Caxton's Ordinale, 1477-8, edited by Chr. W. for the same, 8vo, 1894.

Ordinale Exon., 80 leaves, folio, from the MS. of 1337, edited by H. E. Reynolds, Exeter, 1884.

See also Introduction to the Cambridge edition of the *Sarum Breviary*, 8vo, 1886, iii. pp. lxiii-lxxx, by Chr. W. List by H. Bradshaw, who, from his wonderfully stored and accurate memory, and without reference to any memorandum, *wrote out the draft of the list of editions and extant copies of the Pye list, with scarcely a moment's hesitation*, one day when Chr. W. came up from the country, without warning, and called upon him in the library at Cambridge! The draft is still in my possession.

(W.)

CHAPTER IX

OF BOOKS USED BY LAY-FOLK

THE PRYMER

FROM the thirteenth century to the period of the Reformation the Prymer was the Prayer-book of the lay people ; and of all the books of the Middle Ages it was the most common and best known.

The Prymer is the book referred to at times under the names of "Book of Hours" or *Horæ*. In the Middle Ages, however, the volume was known as the Prymer or Primer.

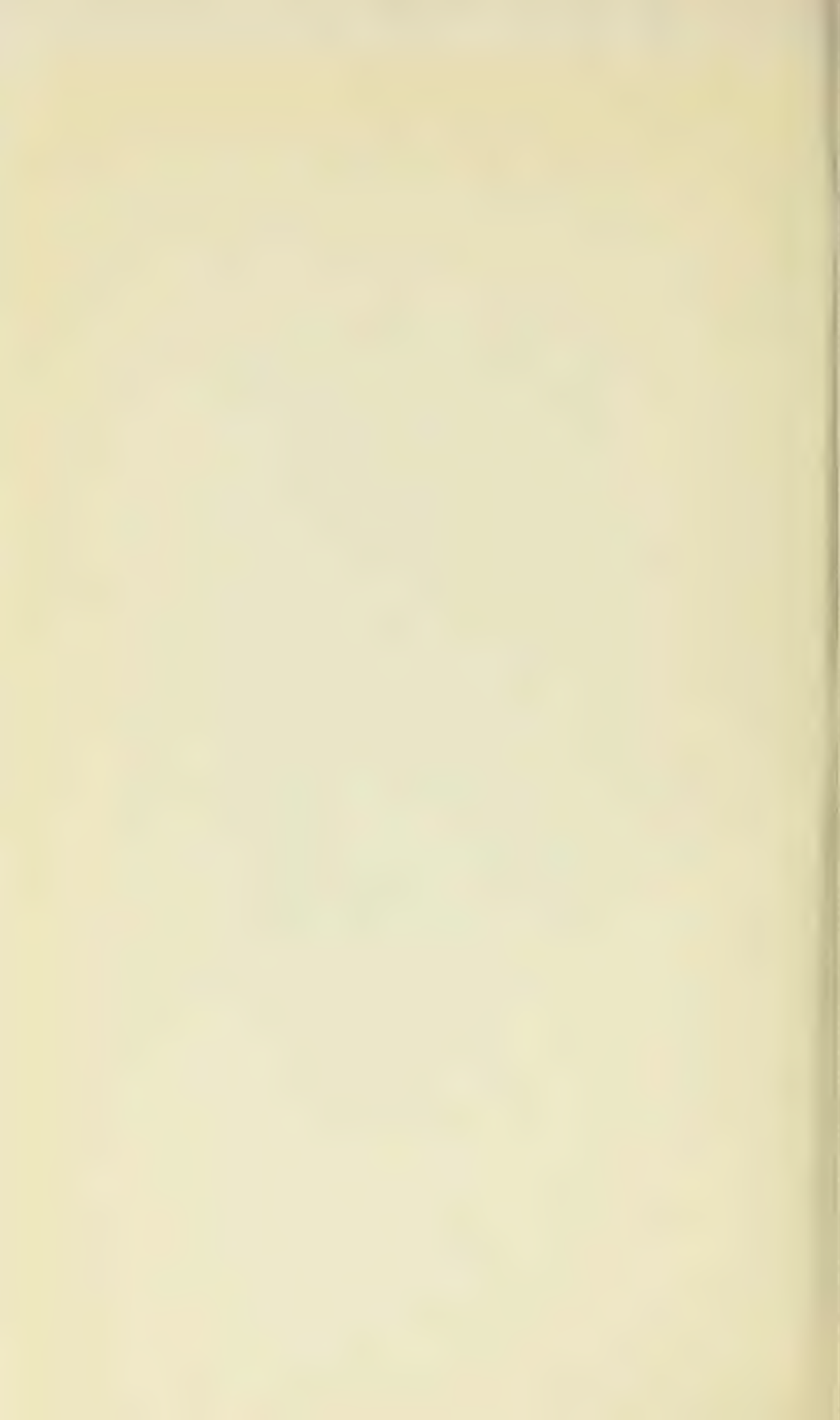
The following references are from fifteenth-century wills at Somerset House: "my best prymmer . . . my myddell prymmer" (Logge, 90a), "my grete prymmere" (*ib.*, 190a), "a Prymer to serve god with" (Vox, 92b).

That the name "Prymer" was that of the book with which we are now dealing may be known from the fact that the printed copies with that title exactly correspond in their contents with the earlier copies in manuscript. That the name is also properly applied to the book, whether the contents be in English, Latin, or in both languages, we may also feel sure from the reason that the

ou vs. Crist wel her vs. Lord
 haue miȝt ou vs. Crist haue
 miȝt ou vs. Lord haue miȝt
 ou vs. And oure patre i
 heuene. Virgine marie ful of gr̃e.
 And lede us not i to temptacioun.
 But deliue us fro euil. And lord
 in miȝt come ou vs. In saluacioun
 after respit. Lord be thou to vs
 stouer of strengre. Fro re face
 of re euil. We han sinned wȝ
 oure faderis. We deden buȝtly
 we wrouȝt wickidnes. Lord do
 thou not to vs after oure synnes.
 For ever yelde to us after oure wic
 kidnes. Lord haue thou not wroȝt
 ou oure cold wickidnes. In
 miȝt schullen some bifore take
 vs. for we been ful moche maid wȝ.
 For we for al re flak of per
 durtie. In pestis be doped in
 re, wroȝtnes & in haletis fulout
 gladd per. Lord make last s̃ kinge

A PAGE OF THE COMMON MEDIEVAL PRAYER BOOK,
 THE PRYMER, IN ENGLISH, OF THE
 FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Brit. Mus. MS. 17,011, leaf 65 b



name is applied indiscriminately to all three varieties. The following examples will establish this :—

“Thus endeth the Prymer in Englysshe after the use of Salysbury,” etc. (Printed at the end of a copy in English in 1538.)

“This Prymer of Salysbury use is set out a long,” etc. (Printed at the commencement of a copy in Latin, 1532.)

“Thys Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten is newly translatyd.” (Printed at the beginning of a copy of 1538.)

The greater number of Prymers now remaining are in Latin; but that the book was very frequently in English is proved by the considerable number wholly in English still surviving. More than a dozen of these in MS. are known; and of different printed editions no less than twenty-nine between 1534 and 1547, according to the list made after many years' diligent research by the Rev. Edgar Hoskins.

As in the later printed copies, the earlier manuscript volumes were at times in both English and Latin, as in the copy in the Hunterian Library at Glasgow University, where the one language follows the other verse by verse.

An idea of the very large numbers of these books at one time in use may be gathered from the constant mention and bequests of them in medieval wills. At times even several Prymers are bequeathed by a single individual. The following extract is from the will of a fifteenth-century London grocer :—

“my Prymer with gilt clapses wheruppon I am wont to say my service.” (Somerset H. Wills, Moone, lf. 4a.)

Again, in a will of 1498 a lady leaves to

“my goddoughter ursula ffitzwater a premer clasped with silver and gilte for a Remembraunce to pray for me.”
(Somerset H. Wills, Horne, xxvi. (8a).)

A medieval Prymer consisted of a certain distinct series of devotions with generally more or less other matter appended. The appended devotions would vary to almost any extent; those of the Prymer proper would be practically invariable, both in the order of their arrangement and (with slight exceptions) in the matter of which the devotions were formed. The Prymer proper consisted of:—

The Hours of the Blessed Virgin.

The Seven (Penitential) Psalms (Pss. vi., xxxii., xxxviii., li., cii., cxxx., cxliii.).

The Fifteen (Gradual) Psalms (Pss. cxx.–cxxxiv.).

The Litany.

The Office for the Dead (*i.e.* Placebo and Dirige: not the Burial Service).

The Commendations (Ps. cxix., etc.).

The distinction between the Prymer and its additions appears to be indicated in the following extract from a will of 1476:—

“my Prymere with the sawter and oþere praiers.” (Somerset H. Wills, Wattys, lf. 219.)

The *Office of the Blessed Virgin* has been edited by Mr. Dewick for the H. Bradshaw Society in facsimile from two eleventh-century MSS., written respectively at Canterbury and Winchester. But the larger collection,



Full Size.

A page of a fifteenth century Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2915. This is the common picture before the Office for the Dead.



known as the Prymer, *i.e.* a Prayer-book containing the series of devotions mentioned, is first met with towards the end of the thirteenth century.

An example of the book at this early stage is the Brit. Mus. MS., Eg., 1,151. This copy is a little book, suitable by its size for a Prayer-book, and containing, in Latin, the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Litany, and the Office for the Dead. The Fifteen Gradual Psalms and the Commendations are not yet present. As with the Prymer at all periods, there appear in this early example other devotions appended, which form no part of the book proper.

About a hundred years later (that is, towards the end of the fourteenth century) the full Prymer in its common form is found: as in the Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 3,811.

At this time in some copies music made its appearance in the Office for the Dead: as in the Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 2,849, in which copy, however, the order of the devotions of the Prymer proper is unusual.

The Prymer and also many Psalters may be described as quasi-service-books; for though they were without doubt used by the lay people in church, they were probably more frequently regarded and used as books of private devotion.

More than once the Prymer is found in the lists of the service-books of a parish church. Virtually a Prayer-book for the lay-people, its appearance in these inventories demands some explanation, and the following is suggested:—

The Office for the Dead was often recited in parish churches, and a copy of this office forms sometimes a separate book, the Dirge-book. Possibly, then, Prymers

were at times used as service-books for that Service for the Dead. It is to be remarked that in one church containing three Prymers two of them are mentioned as "notyd," that is, containing musical notation; consequently these copies would be especially suitable for use as service-books. Possibly, however, but less likely, a solution of the difficulty may be found in the supposition that Prymers were sometimes given to the church as gifts purely, and not designed for any special use. All sorts of gifts were made by parishioners to the church, even to the extent of swarms of bees and wedding rings (Som. Rec. Soc., v. 4).

Both the Prymer and the Psalter often contain the names of previous owners, and both these books frequently contain notes (generally entered in the calendar) respecting members of the family of the owner. Both books, too, as would naturally follow from the fact that they belonged to lay-people, remain in immeasurably larger numbers than any other class of service-book. Both are at times, though rarely, bound up together, as, for instance, the Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 3,000.

Prymers are of almost all sizes. MS. Brit. Mus., Harl., 2,862, is little more than an inch in height, whilst MS. Brit. Mus., 2. B. XV., is considerably more than a foot.

Though the Prymer is often found with no ornament whatever, and in the plainest and cheapest form, as in the Brit. Mus. MS., 17,011, other examples in the abundance of their ornamentation surpass every service-book. This is easily to be accounted for by the fact that the book, in some form or other, was in the possession of all classes, and the more wealthy would very reasonably



AN EXAMPLE OF THE COMMON PICTURE PRECEDING THE
COMMENDATIONS OF THE DYING IN THE PRYMER

FROM THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY PRYMER

Brit. Mus. MS. Slo. 2,171, leaf 119

be disposed to expend considerable sums on a book of such a nature.

The ornamentation of the Prymer may take the form of elaborate borders, fine initial letters, or very beautifully executed little pictures.¹

When the book is ornamented with pictures, those placed before certain sections of the book generally take certain specific forms. The Hours of the Blessed Virgin will be preceded by a picture of the Annunciation. Before the Office for the Dead will be a representation of a funeral service, and before the Commendations will be a representation of three little nude figures being carried up in a white sheet towards the Almighty depicted above. The relation of this last picture to the text of the little service before which it is placed is apparent. The service is the commending of the soul of the departed to its Maker, and in the Middle Ages the soul of a dead person was generally represented as a little nude figure.

The Prymer was commonly bound in red or blue velvet, such binding being frequently specified in medieval wills. Sometimes it had clasps of gold, sometimes "claspis of silver gilt with myne Armes apon." (Somerset H. Wills, Milles, lf. 127b.)

The Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 2,915, contains two pictures of especial interest, representing respectively the elevation of the Host and the reception of the Communion. Both are reproduced in facsimile (see coloured Plate). On lf. 43 of this MS. is a representation of the Last Judgement.

¹ Dr. M. R. James's Illustrated Catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Museum MSS. at Cambridge gives an excellent idea of such ornamentation so far as it can be done in outline without colour.

The Brit. Mus. MS., 17,012, contains royal autographs and inscriptions, an account of which will be found in another part of this volume.

The Brit. Mus. MS., Slo., 2,474, is interesting for its somewhat unusual representation of a book in the hand of one of the mourners in the picture placed before the Office for the Dead.

The Brit. Mus. MS., Slo., 2,471. The little picture placed before the Office for the Dead shows the service proceeding, and the somewhat unusual feature of an assistant at the altar in the dress of a layman.

The Brit. Mus. MS., Harl., 3,000, has many beautiful pictures and borders; the text, too, is very beautifully written. The Psalter is attached to this Prayer-book.

The Brit. Mus. MS., 2. A. XVIII., is a beautiful book, with many interesting notes in the calendar. The text is well written, and some of the initial letters very beautifully adorned with little pictures, the colouring of which is as clear as if it were newly finished (see coloured Plate). The Psalter is attached.

MS. B., 11. 7, at Trinity College, Cambridge, is probably one of the finest Prymers remaining.

A text of the Prymer has been published by the Early English Text Society, and will also be found in the third volume of Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia* (ed. 1882). An edition of the Prymer of York Use, with large accretions, has been prepared by Mr. C. Wordsworth, and is awaiting its turn for production by the Surtees Society.

(L.)

THE PSALTER (LAY-FOLKS')

For the account of the non-liturgical Psalter see under "The Psalter."

It should perhaps be mentioned that "*Our Lady's Psalter*," sometimes prescribed for use by illiterate persons, consisted of a rosary of fifty Aves and five Pater Nosters interspersed, and one Credo. (*St. Nicholas' Hospital, Salisbury*, by Chr. W., 1903, p. 2 *n.* Cf. the wills of Walter, Lord Montjoy, 1474, and Ro. Fabyan, the chronicler, 1511, and H. Ld. Marney, 1523, in *Testamenta Vetusta*, pp. 335, 502, 610-11.) (W.)

CHAPTER X

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

(i.) THE SHRIFT-BOOK OR PENITENTIAL

1. **A**BOUT the middle of the fourth century St. Basil of Cesarea issued canons to define the limits of public penance to be inflicted for specific offences. Such rules were frequently laid down in councils of the Church; and in the sixth and following centuries collections of such canons were codified. Among these was the Penitential of Cummeanus (*abbas in Scotia ortus*), *cir.* 700, whose other work, a digest of decisions, etc., Henry Bradshaw has identified with the "*Hibernensis*." This passed from Ireland at once into Brittany, but did not reach England till the ninth century. But before that time Theodore of Tarsus (*cir.* 668–90) supervised a similar compilation by a native of southern England. This consists of one book of fifteen chapters, specifying what measure of punishment should be meted out to the various classes of offenders, and a second book of fourteen chapters, containing various ecclesiastical laws. The Preface begins: "*Primum quidem, karissimi . . .*"; Book i. cap. 1, *De crapula*: "*Si quis episcopus . . .*"; Book ii. cap. 1: "*Ecclesiam licet ponere*," etc. (see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. pp. 173–204).

2. About 734 the Ven. Bede compiled a similar Penitential, of which twelve genuine chapters (the last imperfect) are extant in a MS. at Vienna, edited by Wasserschleben, and in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. pp. 326-34. The tariff of Masses and Psalters, etc., in commutation for so many days' fasting, of which an edition is ascribed to Dunstan (*cir.* 965), finds a curious illustration in Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, etc. (E. E. T. Soc.), iii. 166, 288. The *excarpsum*, or excerpts of Bede, begins, c. i., *De diversis canonum sententiis*, "De remediis peccatorum paucissima haec . . . medicamentum. Non omnibus."

3. But there is another set of Penitential canons of the Pseudo-Bede, with the same proem, and with the same opening paragraph, "De remediis peccatorum . . . medicamentum," but thence differing as it goes on, "vel sicut medici corporum," etc., and contains fifteen (longer) chapters (see Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 281-8). It bears upon the face of it an ascription to Egbert.

4. Egbert's Penitential, A.D. 732-66, as printed in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. pp. 416-31, from Wasserschleben's Vienna MS., begins likewise: "Institutio illa sancta . . . medicamentorum †, vel sicut . . . timorem habeant." After which follows cap. 1, *De † capitalia crimina*: "Nunc igitur capitalia . . ."; and it extends to sixteen chapters.

5. There is, however, a much longer recension in Parker MS. 190, at Corpus, Cambridge, consisting of the "Confessional and Penitential of Egbert in five books." It is a compilation from Theodore, Cummeanus, and Halitgar, a ninth-century bishop of Cambrai; and MS. Bodl. Laud, F. 17, *cir.* 1000 A.D., has in addition

thirty-five canons extra. (There is another eleventh-century Penitential at Corpus, cod. 265, § 1, perhaps from Worcester.)

The "Egbert Penitential," Parker MS. 190, is identified by Dr. James and other scholars with the "scrift boc on englisc," or vernacular Shrift-book, which Leofric gave to Exeter *cir.* 1072. Such a book ("*Penitentionalem*") every young priest was counselled to procure by the twenty-first canon of Ælfric, as well as by the "*De remediis peccatorum*" of Egbert, sometimes, as we have seen, ascribed to Bede. The sixth canon of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747, implies such knowledge as a requisite, and the Lincoln archdeacons' Visitation article, No. 44, *cir.* 1230, inquires whether there is a sufficiency of the bishop's Penitentiaries (priests) in each archdeaconry, and (No. 22) whether any deacons presume to hear confessions (Spelman, *Concilia*, ii. 192, 193). This Penitential has been printed by Wilkins (*Concilia*, i. 113-43.)

At Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O. 2, 30, 129b, has a ninth-century document in three columns, "*Hec sunt peccata.*"

MS. O. 2. 5, § 21, a volume which belonged to a Welsh rector, is a fourteenth-century *libellus de penitenciis*, in four books, beginning, "*Penitencias a sanctis patribus.*"

The Penitential of Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, A.D. 1162, is found in a late copy in Brit. Mus., Cotton, Faustina, A. 8. 1 (see MS. Lambeth 235).

A collection of Penitential canons, *cir.* 1200, from Lanthony, is in Lambeth MS. 165.

At Trinity College, B. 15. 20 contains two copies of Grosseteste ("*Lincolniensis*") *De confessione*. "*Quoniam cogitacio . . .*" sæc. xiv.

MS. B. 15. 30. is T. de Chebeham's *Summa de Penitencia*. "De hiis, que dicenda . . ." The author (bishop of Worcester, 1317-27) was (? Chancellor of Cambridge) canon in several chapters, and Archbishop-elect.

MS. B. 15. 31, "*Peccavi: sic exponitur . . . P. est penitet . . . E. est erubesco . . .*" etc.; possibly also T. de Chebeham's. He wrote also "*Speculum Ecclesiae*," "Penitenciam agite . . ."

MS. O. 5. 4, § 12, is J. Garland's "Peniteas cito, peccator, quia sit miserator," etc. (see Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, t. 207, col. 1153; see also Peterhouse, MS. 207, § 8). At Caius College, MS. 203, § 8, ascribes "*Peniteas cito*" to T. Coote, perhaps its scribe.

MS. Gonv. Cai. 274 is the *Summa Confessorum* of J. Lettore, a Dominican, in four books. At Peterhouse, MS. 217, *cir.* 1300, contains *Summa de Vitiis*, "Cum miseraciones Domini . . ." (with a table), perhaps by Chebeham;¹ a *Species vii. peccatorum*, forty-six Penitential Canons with comment, and some other tracts of the same nature (see also King's College MS. 17).

Ro. [Mannyng] de Brunne's version of *Manuel des Pechiez*, a book of moral and religious stories in verse, is being edited for the Early English Text Society.

A fifteenth-century Manual for the use of priests and confessors, on 313 leaves of paper, is in Cambridge University MS. Ee. 1. 7. It belonged to the Crutched Friars of St. Cross, by the Tower of London.

MS. Ee. ii. 29, § 4, contains a Treatise on Confession, "*Convertimini ad me . . .*"

¹ Called in the MS. at King's College T. de Cabaham, Subd[ocanus] Sarum, *cir.* 1310-13. The Subdean was also Penitentiary or Confessor of the Close.

Ff. 1. 14 is Richard Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole's *Speculum peccatoris*. Quoniam fratres karissimi (? in huius vitae via] . . ." with Prior J. Mirk's *Manuale Sacerdotum*, etc. (cf. Ff. 5. 36; Hh. 1. 11, §9; Hh. 1. 13, §8; Hh. 4. 13; Ii. 6. 15; Ii. 1. 31, §4; and the Appendix to St. Augustine's works, ed. Paris, vi. 1433-42).

In the thirteenth-century Sarum Pontifical, MS. Ff. 6. 9, fo. 80, is *Ordo ad dandum penitenciam* (cf. MS. Gonv. Cai. 427, §8).

Gg. iv. 32, a collection of fourteenth-century treatises, contains "Quoniam circa confessiones . . .", "Quomodo sacerdos se debet gerere in confessione . . ." (forty-one sections).

A *Liber Penitentiarum* (in ninety-four chapters) beginning "*Qui vult confiteri . . .*", etc.

Gg. vi. 26, besides a collection of sermons, with "Gesta Romanorum," and some forms useful for a parish priest, has an *exhortation to confession* (p. 22), sæc. xv.

Ii. 1. 2 is in English on the text "Lavamini, mundi estote."

Ii. 1. 26 contains *Compendium Penitentialis* of W. de Montibus, Chancellor of Lincoln (cir. 1195), with gloss., sæc. xv.

Ii. 6. 18 is a fourteenth-century *Liber Penitentialis* mag. R. de Flamesborch (Canon of St. Victor, Paris, twelfth century), "*Res grandis*," etc., with a simple instruction, "*Quomodo suscipiendus est penitens*." There is another fourteenth-century copy of Master R. de Flamesborch's *Liber Penitentialis*, from Ch. Ch., Canterbury, in the Parker collection at Corpus, cod. 441 (cf. Kk. 6. 1, where there is a dedication by the Dean of Salisbury).

Kk. 1. 14, a contemporary *Pupilla Oculi* of J. de Burgo,

Chancellor of Cambridge, and Rector of Collingham, Notts, 1385 (which contains a book—pars v.—on penance), has on fo. 157 the cases of penitents which the Bishop of Lincoln reserves to his own hearing (cf. the lines “*Qui facit incestum*” in Brev. Sarum, 1499).

Kk. 1. 9 and Kk. 4. 20 contain the *Summa* of Raymond de Pennafort, a canonist *cir.* 1227; the latter MS. has also the Penitential books of Grosseteste and Jo. de Deo. The fourteenth-century collection, Mm. 6. 15, has a *Modus confessionis*, with other directions for the clergy.

When we consider that a single large library contains all these, apart from such works as Ralph Higden's *Speculum Curatorum*, W. de Pagula's *Pars Oculi*,¹ H. Parker's *Dives and Pauper* (1450), Ja. de Theramo's Dialogue (strangely entitled “*Belial*,”² *cir.* 1385) of Consolation of Sinners, with numerous treatises on the Decalogue and the Deadly Sins, etc., some of which have been edited for the Early English Text Society, it will be readily understood what a field is open for research on the medieval exercise of penance.

Forms of confession and absolution are often written or printed at the back of “letters of fraternity” and grants of “pardon” or indulgence.

We have already indicated sufficiently where some of the Penitentials are to be found in print. (W.)

¹ It is deserving of note that one of two copies of *Pars Oculi* given to Winchester College, *cir.* 1404, is specially called “*Liber Penitentialis vocatus Pars Oculi*.” There was also a *Pupilla Oculi*, a *Liber Penitentialis*, and a *Summa Confessorum*.

² *De Consolatione Peccatorum*. It is in the form of a sort of legal process between Belial and our Redeemer. Wykeham, or his nephew, gave a copy to each of the St. Mary Winton Colleges, *cir.* 1404. The book was printed at Bamberg before 1472. A MS. of *Dives and Pauper* is B. Mus. Harl. 149. The book was printed in folio by Pynson, 1493; W. de Worde, 1496; Berthelet (8vo) *cir.* 1535.

(ii.) LAY-FOLKS' CATECHISM

This little book followed the lines of the Lambeth Constitutions of J. Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1281. It was issued (with the encouragement of a "pardon" for forty days' indulgence, dated November, 1357) by J. de Thoresby, Archbishop of York, and turned into verse by J. de Gatryk, or Gaytrik, monk of St. Mary's, "Taystok" (Tavistock), and likewise adapted by Wyclif. Edited, in 1901, by Canon H. E. Nolloth, for E. E. T. Soc., from the papers of T. F. Simmons.

Had not our book run to too great length already, I should have given here a list of books printed in England or widely used in this country in the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century, for the instruction of clergy and laity in Christian duty and devotion, and serving in part to supply matter for homiletics. After searching in a few great libraries (the British Museum, Cambridge University, Lambeth Palace, etc.), and beginning with Earl Rivers' "*Cordiale*, on the Four Last Things," printed by Caxton in 1479, down to Redman's edition of "*Lyndewode's Provinciale*" in 1534, I have reckoned over one hundred editions of books of this description. The greatest number by far were produced from "Caxton's House" by his successor, Wynken de Worde. The Morality Play, "*Every Man*," which has recently attracted so much attention, was "Imprynted at London in Poule's Church Yard, by me Iohn Skot," 4°, *cir.* 1528. See Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, p. 228, and in another edition, of which there is a copy at Salisbury Cathedral; as well as twice by Pynson, *cir.* 1509-30.

(W.)

(iii.) NEW TESTAMENTS, ETC., WITH TABLES

Several MS. New Testaments of the fifteenth century, in English, have certain Tables prefixed to the texts of the volumes. These books are not service-books, but have clearly a liturgical character. In the Brit. Mus. MS. 1. A. X. the table commences :—

“Here begynnyþe a rule þat telliþ in whiche chapitris of þe bible new lawe ye mown find þe epistlis & þe gospels þat ben rad in þe chirche at masse,” etc.

The Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 6,333, also in English and of the same period, is a somewhat similar volume, but far more ample. The table in this book commences :—

“Here biginneth a reule that telleth in whiche chapters of þe bible þe may fynde the lessouns pistlis and gospels þat ben red in chirche,” etc.

This table is far more descriptive of the contents than the first-mentioned example, and the book in parts has also clear rubrics as headings to the lessons, epistles, and gospels. The following examples of these rubrics will be of interest :—

“The saterday gospel bifore trinite sunday. Luk iii^c f. Ihesus roos,” etc., lf. 305*a*.

“The pistil on þe tewisdai in passiqn woke. Daniel xiii. c’. In tho daies,” etc., lf. 333*a*.

“The firste lessoun on ester even. Genesis i^o cap. In the bigynnyng,” etc., lf. 338*b*.

“Heere eendiþ þe dominicals and ferials togidere of al þe 3eere. Now biginneþ þe reule of þe sanctorum boþe propre & comyn togidere,” lf. 349*b*.

“On cristemas morewen þe firste lessoun at þe firste masse whiche lessoun is sungen in þe pulpet. þe firste vers

and þe laste of two togidere. But alle þe myddil versis. on [one] singiþ oon & anoþir syngiþ anoþir verse of þo þat ben sunge bi hem silf, is of þe text of ysaie þe prophete. And þe answe is as it were a glose of þe texte. And so it is, bi & bi, þorouþout þe lesson. ¶ Of which þis is þe firste vers þat is sunge of booe togider, Isaie. ix. chap.' I schal seie," etc., lf. 311a.

The Catalogue of Manuscripts of the University Library, Cambridge (v. ii. p. 44), shows that another somewhat similar volume, but apparently in Latin, was also in existence about the same period. This book seems to have been more akin to the first-mentioned volume than the Harleian MS. (L.)

(iv.) THE TABULA OR WAX-BREDE

The Tabula was of the nature of a service-paper rather than of a service-book, and from its temporary nature it is surprising that any example of it should survive.

It was usual in cathedral churches for the officials to draw up a list of those who were responsible for the principal portions of the coming services week by week, and to have it read at the Capitular service after Prime on Saturdays, and to post it up in the chapter-house, or in some accessible part of the church. At certain special seasons (such as Easter week and Whitsuntide) a fresh Tabula had to be arranged for each successive day.

Thus at Lincoln it was the Precentor's duty to arrange the cantors' names for the musical part of the service, while the Chancellor arranged the order of readers of the lessons at Mattins, and of the attendant ministers to assist at High Mass (*Liber Niger*, pp. 283, 285). Their deputies,

the Succentor and Vice-Chancellor, were ready to perform the offices assigned to them in the *tabula cantus*, and *tabula lecturae* respectively, as well as to appoint the officiants for the minor duties, and to see that a substitute, when necessary, was forthcoming (pp. 371; cf. 381, 383, 391, 393). In 1439 Bishop Alnwick found that it was usual for the Chancellor's deputy to "tabulate" and write the lists for all the coming High Masses on the Saturday (*Stat. Linc.*, iii. 219).

The *tabulae* or "boards" on which these lists were posted were probably smeared with a coating of green wax, at Lincoln and Salisbury, as they were at Winchester College, when they were known as "wax-bredes" ("*weax-bred.*" See A.S. gloss. to the *Rule of St. Benet*, ed. Schröer, *Prosabearbeitungen*, 1885, capp. 33, 55, pp. 56, 92). There is a representation of this in one of the illuminations to the Benedictional of Æthelwold of Winchester.

At St. Gall similar tablets, still extant, called "*pugillares Scotticae*," were used like slates, for reckoning accounts. See Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, iv. 128 (ed. 1853).

At St. George's, Windsor, it was the Precentor's duty in 1350 to write "*in tabula vel cartallo*" every Saturday a list of both singers and readers, and to put it up in the quire.

A fragment of a later "*tabula*," written about 1500, when the *board* had been discarded, is preserved at Exeter. It relates to the services of about eight weeks of the year, beginning after Palm Sunday. A specimen (expanded)—from the latest entries in the fragment—will suffice:—

"*In festo Ascensionis Domini.*]

Rectores chori : [T. et G.] sicut in dominica.

Invitatorium : Viseweke, Ryse, Smyth et Cosen.

Primum Responsorium : Jamys, Horwell et Henson.

Secundum : Shobroke et Meltham.

Tercium : qui Invitatorium cantent.

Missam celebret episcopus, vel decanus.

Epistolam [Jac. Tremelyon (Gradale cantent Johannes et Ric.; Alleluya, Ric. et W.)] Euangelium, [Ric. Smyth], sicut in dominica [v. post Pascha]. Assistentes : Deyman et Tremelyon.

In capitulo : ii. [leccionem], Notwell.

In processione : prosam *Salve, festa dies*, cantent Shobroke, Henson et Bynkys. Smyth et Horston portent feretrum.¹

Dominica infra octavas Ascensionis Domini.

Rectores : Georgius et Thomas.

i. leccionem : —. ii. Rob. Dobell.—iii. Johannes.

Responsorio : Rob. —ii. Edmundus Stokeport.—[iii.] Tres rectores.

Missam celebret Johannes. Epistolam legat Ric. Smyth. Communionem [cantet], Edwardus. Gradale, Rob. et Georg.

In capitulo : i. leccionem, Ric.; ii. [leccionem] Rob.; patenam teneat, Ric.”²

It seems not improbable that the *tabule manuales*, one a diptych, the other a triptych, at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, in Salisbury Cathedral (*Ceremonies*, p. 299), in 1389, mentioned after the two *deosculatoria*, or “pax-bredes” of glass, and next before the chained Psalters and the *liber matutinalis* (likewise chained) were “diptychs,” or folding tablets, for commemorating the departed at the altar. See above, pp. 159–62 ; and our next section, p. 267.

“*The Use of Exeter Cathedral, 1327–67. Abstract of Chapter Acts*,” by Herbert Reynolds, folio, 1891, pp. 73–75. Church Printing Company. Appendix to *Maydeston's Tracts*, pp. 235, 236, note. (W.)

¹ *Feretrum* : the “fertur,” or bier, supporting the casket of relics, which was held on high at the west door while the procession passed lowly under it. Our woodcut from the Sarum Processional of 1502, etc., at p. 167 above, indicates the fertory. Cf. Frere's *Use of Sarum*, i. 40, 175.

² *Abstract of Exeter Chapter Acts*, H. E. Reynolds, p. 75.

(v.) DIPTYCHS

The custom of the Eastern Church in displaying the names of benefactors, founders, and other persons departed whose memory it was desired to keep green, had its counterpart in this country, where their names were sometimes set up upon a tablet (“*tabula*”), or in a “*kalendar*” above the altar. Dr. Rock has mentioned a few examples in his notes to his *Church of our Fathers*, ed. 1852, iii. 129. There was a tablet commemorative of Bishop Poore (1237) in the Lady Chapel at Salisbury, seen and transcribed by Leland in the sixteenth century (*Osmund Reg.*, ii. p. cxxx.) See also “*Tabula (b)*” in C. Wordsworth’s *Notes on Medieval Services* (1898), pp. 289–90, for the record of altar dedications. The lists of benefactors, living and departed, contained in the “*Bidding of the Bedes*” at Salisbury in the fifteenth century, is printed in *Salisbury Ceremonies* (1901), pp. 22–32; and a double page of vellum MS. inserted in the Sarum Missal, printed in 1513, now at Peterborough, but formerly in use in Winchester College Chapel, is described in *Tracts of Clement Maydeston* (1894), pp. 225–31. See also Warren’s *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 239. (W.)

(vi.) CANON MISSAE

Some early Sacramentaries did not contain the Canon of the Mass, and it had been customary at first to write certain formularies in *volumina*, or rolls, which were held unfolded at the proper place by the “*rotularius*” before the officiating Bishop (Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, iv. § 1; v.

§ 5; M. Rule, *Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, pp. clxii.-iv.)

It will be remembered that our Winfrid (St. Boniface), about 740, received from Pope Zachary a roll of the sacred Canon of the Mass, in which the crosses to be made by the celebrant were duly marked (*Epis.* 12; Labbe, *Concil.*, vi., col. 1527).

It is evident that even at a much later period the Canon (perhaps including the whole *Ordo Missae*) was sometimes written in a separate sheet or quire. The fact that, after printing was introduced, the *Canon Missae* was often impressed on vellum for binding in paper Missals, was due probably to the intention of giving greater durability to the pages which, being in constant use, were specially subject to wear and tear: as in modern times the sheets containing Mattins, Evensong, Litany, and Psalter are issued separately for renewing the great and more costly editions of the Prayer Book used by the minister in English churches. The use of vellum gave also a special dignity to the most sacred portion of the service, and to the engraving of the Crucifixion or of the Majesty, and to the large initial T of "Te igitur," which is sometimes treated as an artistic representation of the Crucifix. The text of the Canon, in most editions of the Sarum *Missale* (see ed. 1861-83, pp. xxvii-xxx, Appendix I. not foliated) between 1494 and 1557, was spaced so as to occupy only about half the number of lines to the page, as compared with the remainder of the volume, and sometimes so as to allow a broader margin.¹ Regnault, in 1526, used a much larger

¹ In 1508 (Verard), 1519 (Higman), and 1527 (Antwerp), the Canon is shorter. In the late Mr. Hope's copy of 1554-5 it is shorter but broader. In 1521 (Paris) a few pages *before* the Canon are in larger type.

fount for the Canon. Thus French printers apply the term "Gros Canon" (as an alternative to "Gros Romain") to the larger sizes of pica type, called sometimes "Cicero," which is styled "Canone" in Italian, and by the Germans "Missal," "Tertia," "Grobe Canon," or "Kaiserschrift," and in Dutch "Parys Romeyn" (Power, *Handy-Book about Books*, p. 97).

The "Canon" was used, as the New Testament now is, for administering oaths. The clergy were required to know it by heart, "*memoriter*," as the vicars in cathedrals were to know the Psalter and histories "*corde tenus*." The Canon was a subject for clerical examinations in 1222 (*Osmund Reg.*, i. 304-6). Although he was required to know it by heart, the priest, by the English constitution or canon of 960 (No. 32), was obliged always to have the text before his eyes, for fear of making a mistake (Spelman, *Conc.*, i. 451). According to the decrees of York, in 1195, Archdeacons were required to see that the Canon of the Mass was corrected with all care. Bishop Ri. Poore enjoined in 1217 that "all priests should have the Canon of the Mass corrected according to the custom of the church of Sarum, and should pronounce the words of it *rotunde et distincte*. He gave the same directions when he was at Durham, in 1220, omitting, of course, the reference to Sarum Use. About ten years later the Archdeacons of Lincoln diocese (Grosseteste being one of them) inquired whether the "Canon" in each church was duly corrected; and at Worcester, in 1240, as elsewhere, the question was made obligatory (*id.* ii. pp. 121, 147, 173, 192, 232, 252). At St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel, Knook, one of the Sarum peculiars, there was a new *Canon Missae*, in 1226 (*Osmund Reg.*, i. 296). The will of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of

Hereford, *cir.* 1322, mentions "le canoun de la messe per sei" (*Archæol. Journal*, ii. 339). It was one of the things which, according to the Penitential of the fourteenth century (Brit. Mus., MS. Reg. 7, E. 1), every priest was bound to have. Probably the eight leaves (fifteenth century) bound in Camb. Univ. MS., Dd. viii. 21 (seventeen lines on a page), was such a book. See also *MSS. Catal.*, ii. 424. At Durham, in 1391 and 1416, a *Canon Missae* was bound up with a Psalter, Hymnary, and Journal (Surtees Society *Catal.*, pp. 38, 115). (W.)

(vii.) OF THE EXULTET ROLL¹

Up to the present there is no evidence forthcoming that the Exultet Roll was in use in English churches. The Exultet Roll contained a portion of the Easter Even Services. (See Sarum Breviary, iii., pp. xciv.-v. *n.*) (L.)

(viii.) THE GREAT SENTENCE

The Great Sentence is not a book, but the form of excommunication which was publicly proclaimed in church four times a year.

It would be expected that the text of the Great Sentence would be supplied in MS. Manuals, but this is not so. The Great Sentence is found in the Manual at times, but is not part of the regular text of that volume. Apparently the Great Sentence had no definite place in any service-book: a copy in a Liber Festivalis, printed in 1483, is entitled "The Generalle Sentence."

The texts of the Sentence vary in length and in matter.

¹ The *Exultet* was sometimes appended to a Gospel-book, *e.g.* in Mr. Dewick's MS., *cir.* 1270, or included in a Missal, *cir.* 1405. See p. 180, above.

In the Festival copy, just mentioned, the days for reading the Sentence are not specified, but the proclamation is to be made four times a year "when the peple is most plenarye in holy chirche." In a copy in a Manual printed 1526 (most printed Manuals contain the text) the occasions for the publication are mentioned as "the first sonday of advent, that other is the first sonday of lenten, and the nexte sonday after wit sonday, and the first sonday after the assumption of our lady." In this Manual the Sentence is headed: "*Isti sunt generales articuli maioris excommunicationis in lingua materna: et dicantur hoc modo.*" The Sentence is always mainly in English.

The clearest copy of the Great Sentence remaining is probably that in the Brit. Mus. MS. Claud. A. II., lf. 123b. This has been printed in full in the volume of the Early English Text Society's publications, entitled *Instructions for Parish Priests*, edited by Mr. Peacock, and lately reissued under the supervision of Dr. Furnivall. From this edition of the text of the Great Sentence the following extracts have been taken:—

As will be noticed, the preamble is in rhyme, probably an unique example. It would have been more satisfactory to have taken our text from a service-book and from a copy wholly in prose, but these do not in any way express so clearly as the text selected what the Great Sentence really was.

The preamble commences:—

"þe grete sentens I wryte þe here,
 þat foure tymes in þe 3ere
 þou schalte pronownce with-owtyn lette,
 Whan þe parich is to-gyður mette:

þou schalte pronownce þis hydowse þinge
 Wit cros and candul and belle knylynge,
 þe furste sononday affter myðhell feste;
 Mydlenton sonday schal be neste;
 þe trenite feste is þe þridde, os I þe say;
 þe ferthe is þe sononday aftur candulmes day."

Then follows a short address to the parishioners, and then the curse, commencing :—

"‘Be þe auctorite of our lorde ihesu cryste’ . . . we denownce acursed & owte of þe company of god & off alle holy chyrche. . . . Alle þat leyne hand on preste or clerke or of man or womman . . ."

And then follows a long list of misdeeds.

Finally the Sentence is given by the authority of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and others :—

"— we acurson and waryon [denounce] And departon [divide] from alle gode dedus & prayeres of holy chyrche, and dampnon in-to þe peyne of helle, Alle þoo þat have done þeis articles. . . . We acurson hem . . . sclepynge & wakyngge goyngge, syttyngge and standinge . . . spekyngge rydyngge . . . etyngge, drynkynge, in wode, in watur, in felde & in towne . . . tyl þay comen to amendement & satisfaccion made. fiat, fiat! amen."

Then a "candul" is cast down and a bell tolls.

The text of the Great Sentence, with various readings, will be found in Wordsworth's *Salisbury Processions and Ceremonies*, pp. 245-55.

The *Modus fulminandi Sententiam* was printed in the Festyvall, just before "the Bedes on the Sondaye."

(L.)

(ix.) SATCHELS; (x.) CLASPS AND BOSSES
(xi.) BOOK-MARKERS

(ix.) In his description of the Corpus Oxford Irish Missal, which he dates about 1160 (but which Maskell thought to be earlier, and which Dr. Legg has "with some hesitation" assigned to the fourteenth century), Mr. F. E. Warren draws attention to the leathern satchel, called *polaire*, or *tiagha lebar* in Ireland, or *pelliceus sacculus* in Latin. This was suspended by a broad central strap, fastened by leather ties to narrower straps attached to the upper angles of the wooden book-cover, and thus slung over the shoulder of the missionary or itinerant priest in his long walks and rides. The back of the satchel of the "Corpus Missal" at Oxford is ornamented with diagonally impressed lines and circles.

The "Book of Armagh" (at Trinity College, Dublin), written in 807, has its satchel: as has that of the shrine of St. Maidoc, and an Irish MS. in the Convent of St. Isidore in Rome.¹

Mr. Warren, in another work,² mentions the *cumdach*, or eleventh-century metal cover, of the Stowe Missal, as bearing an inscription to denote the church in Munster to which that volume once belonged. See also Cheet-
ham's *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, ii. p. 1014, "Liturgical Books."

At St. Mary's Gild, Boston, in 1525, there was "a cace of the gospell booke of syluer and gilte, with certeyn

¹ Warren's *Irish Missal at C. C. C., Oxon.*, 1879, pp. 20, 21; Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 327, 332.

² *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (1881), p. 198.

ymages thereon gravyn, the gift of maister John Bevell, of London, weyng xli. vnces" (E. Peacock, *Church Furniture*, p. 192). And such "jewels" appear in many inventories.

A figure of a person carrying a book in a "bag" binding may be seen on the north side, first bay from the west, in the Lady Chapel at Ely. See the photograph, facing p. 43, in Dr. M. R. James's *Ely Sculptures*, 4to, 1895. See also one of Bishop T. Chandler's drawings in MS., Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 14. 5, No. 15. Cf. MS. Cotton, Titus A. 24; MS. New College, Oxon., 288. A red velvet "bagge" for a scroll is mentioned in a bequest cited on p. 66, above.

(x.) In modern times, with our experience of books printed on paper and of books ranged with backs outwards on our shelves, we have almost abandoned the use of clasps to books. When they stood with the fore-edge (often inscribed with the book's title) outwards and back inwards,¹ the damage done by the clasps to the bindings of the neighbouring volumes was less serious, though the clasps themselves were liable to be wrenched off when used as handles for pulling the book off the shelf. But when the book was written on parchment the leaves, when unconfined, were apt to buckle. Thus in 1519 it was reported at a Visitation of York Minster that "we fynde grete neclygense of ye decons and clerkis of ye vestre yt the mesbuke (*missale*) is not clasped, whereby a fayre boke is nye lost" (*York Fabric Rolls*, illustrative documents, p. 267).

¹ This arrangement may be seen in the shelf depicted in the frontispiece to Ruggle's *Ignoramus* (1668), and even so late as Sir Isaac Newton's portrait at Trinity College, Cambridge. Horn was sometimes added by the "horner," with the studs, or bosses (*York Fabric Rolls*, p. 46, and note).

In the accounts of St. Edmund's parish church at Salisbury 2s. was paid in 1474-5 for "iiij peere of clapsis for bokes," and for "boylones for the same, vjd." (*i.e. bilionibus*, metal bosses in the middle and near the corners of the leathern covered boards).¹ In 1495-6 "pro clapsis pro the gret Antifynere, viij*d.*" The glossary appended to *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 353, mentions Archbishop Bowet's Missal in his chapel in 1423, "cum ij signaculis de argento," valued at 106*s.* 8*d.*, a great Antiphonar "cum ij signaculis deargentatis," worth viij*l.* Lady Margaret Cockfield in 1462 bequeathed a Primer "cum uno signaculo argenteo, habente duas tales literas, 'C.C.'"
(*Testam. Ebor.*, ii. 263).

The Fabric Roll for 1485 (p. 89) has an item, "pro emendacione unius signaculi, et *burdones* [bosses] pro magno missali," etc., referring perhaps to the "fayre boke" subsequently neglected. In the *Registrum Commune* of J. de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, in 1331, at St. Mullyon, Cornwall, we find the visitor's note: "Est ibi legenda competens, male co-operta, et sine *plustulis*," which Mr. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (*Reg. Grandisson*, ii. 607) explains, "Clasps.—Plustula = fibula; *boucle*, D'Arnis." The word occurs twice again on the same page, at visitation of St. Erth, and St. Agnes.

"*Clapsuli*" is the word used for the clasps of the Legenda, Collectar, two Portiforia, Pontificale, and four of the Missalia, given to Winchester College *cir.* 1395-1404. These were of copper-gilt, silver, silver-gilt, and "laton"-gilt respectively. It is noticeable that none of the long list of books, except these service-books, is said to have had clasps.

¹ Bosses, or studs, were also called "*noduli*." See above, p. 41.

St. Mary's Gild, Boston, had, in 1525, "a claspe of a booke of siluer, with *Jhesus* prynted in, and a double truelove [knot], and .j. pynn for booke claspis of syluer weyng .ij. vnces" (Peacock, *Furniture*, p. 193).

A MS. Psalter in quarto form in Lambeth Palace library (cod. 535) has two brass clasps attached to leather thongs; the brass is ornamented on the outside with the name of "Jhesus" (ih̄t), in relief, and on the inside there is a small hole, into which a plain metal pin, projecting from the original boards (through the middle of the side, which is covered with stamped leather), drops. The other end of the thong is, of course, attached to the opposite board of the book-cover. A closed and clasped book (with a chalice, and the effigy of the chaplain) appears on the monumental brass of H. Frekylton, chantry priest, 1508, at Aldbourne, Wilts. Bishop T. Goodrich, 1554, in the south aisle at Ely, is represented holding a handsome volume with two clasps. In 1399, Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, bequeathed, as an heirloom, "a psalter, well and richly illuminated, with clasps of gold, enamelled with white swans, and the arms of my lord and father on the clasps, and other bars of gold on the tissues, in manner of mullets"—the heraldic "difference" of the Earls of Northampton. (*Test. Vetusta*, p. 148.)

(xi.) The name *signaculum*, which appears (in passages cited just above) to denote a book-clasp,¹ suggests by its etymology the horrid thought that the readers of long

¹ "*Signaculum*, a clasp" (Glossary to J. Raine, Junior's, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (1859), p. 353). Cf. p. 269, "Duo missalia, unum cum *firmanculis* sive *signiculis* argenteis" (1519). *Ibid.*, p. 89.

ago were given to the bad habit of turning in the catch, or claw, of the clasp, when closing a book, to keep their place between the leaves, and perhaps committed the further crime of fastening down the claw within the leaves, by snapping tight the other clasp. We wish it had been possible, to adopt Mr. Fowler's interpretation, only it cannot be universally applicable, that "*signaculum*" meant a kind of book-marker, or thumb-register, for finding the places in a book read in choir: "little tags or beads that were attached to the edges of leaves at places often requiring to be opened."¹ Such conveniences are often applied in the form of a series of little pieces of riband (sometimes of various colours) doubled over the fore-edge of the leaf, and projecting in a loop or fold just sufficient for the priest to catch it between two of his fingers. These are set the one below the other, somewhat after the manner of the thumb index, or a ledger, a directory, or "Where is it?" book. Some contrivance of the kind was very desirable for each page of the Canon of the Mass, when the celebrant was forbidden to separate his forefinger and thumb (except for signing the cross)² during that part of the service which lasted from the consecration of the Host until the ablution of his fingers.³ It was convenient also to be able to turn readily to leaves which were constantly in request. Such were the forms *in communi sanctorum*, the collects, etc., for the dead, etc. Sometimes a little worked button is attached; but in earlier days, when the whole book was written or printed on stout vellum, two or three little slits were made near

¹ *Durham Account Rolls*, ii. 411; iii. 965 (Glossary).

² Or when touching the sacred species, for Communion, etc.

³ *Sarum Missale*, 617, 628.

the fore-edge of the page required, parallel to the edge of the book, and through them was threaded a little slip of parchment, cunningly shaped like a section of an old-fashioned nail, so that the point projected as a tag,¹ while the broad head prevented the tag from coming out when pulled. We have noticed such tags in our description of the Hambledon Missal (pp. 179, 180 *n.*), *cir.* 1405.

At the Visitation of Southwell Minster in 1506 it was reported that "Registra in libris ponuntur [in] infirmitate librorum, et non extraverso; unde libri lacerantur et peiorantur."

The meaning, I suppose, is that the book-markers (in this instance, probably, strings) are left hanging at the weak points of the (worn) pages, and not diagonally (or on a different part); and that thus the books are torn and damaged.²

In the inventory of St. Mary's Gild, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in 1525, there occurs: "Item, a register³ of siluer [be]longynge to a portos, with an acorne of ether end" (E. Peacock, *Church Furniture*, p. 208).

This might possibly be a double ribbon or string, with an acorn ornament hanging at each end after the modern type, or a narrow plate of silver, so ornamented, to lie

¹ Mr. Murray, of Leicester, in his catalogue (1903) at "the Shakespeare's Head," describes a fifteenth-century *Horæ*, by a French scribe, with eight vellum markers attached to the margins of certain pages.

² I venture to conjecture "pejorantur" for "preorantur." Mr. Leach in his margin (*Visitations of Southwell*, p. 78, Camden Soc., 1891) suggests what I think a less probable interpretation: "The book-markers are put inside the books instead of outside."

³ To Winchester College Wykeham gave, before his death in 1404, one little Missal, "cum clapsulis de argento et registro deaurato," price 100s.; another, "missale cum registro," price 10 mares. Another was procured, at the same price, "cum clapsulis et registro de argento." (M. E. C. Walcott, *W. of Wykeham and his Colleges*, pp. 244-7.)

flat as a single marker, with the ornamental ends projecting above and below the pages : much as a card or thin paper knife is sometimes laid between the leaves.

That strings or tapes were sometimes used, we may see for ourselves in the Martyrology formerly used by the nuns at Syon, near Richmond, and now in the British Museum. (see above, pp. 149, 162). There are two woven tapes, one red (apparently for keeping the place in the first part of the volume), the other blue (or green) for marking the obit section.¹ They served, as we may say, to find the first and the second daily lesson of the Martiloge. They are three-quarters of an inch in breadth. But they are made to serve a second and a third purpose, besides keeping the places. They are fastened into the binding or suture of the book at the back in the usual way, but each has an oblong piece of vellum pendent from it, high enough up to lie concealed in the book when it is closed. The vellum of the first marker measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in length. On each side of it is written in clear large writing a series of words for the convenience of the nuns, so that the "legister" might avoid making mistakes before the assembled Chapter in her grammatical numbers and genders, when she had to read out the contracted, or variable, terminations in the body of the book. So, which-

¹ It seems perhaps worth considering whether the *corda martilogii*, on which the Almoner at Barnwell Priory was directed to attach the "briefs" of brethren who had died in distant places, were not something like these tapes of the Syon Martyrology. See J. W. Clark's *Customs of Augustinian Canons*, Cambridge, 1897, pp. 176, 240. See also our section on "Obituary Rolls" (p. 162).

The term *Registrum* is defined by Du Cange as "*corda in libro ad inveniendum lectionem ut ait Metulinus ad illud Ebrardi Betun, in Græcismo, c. 12; Esse librum, librique ducem dic esse Registrum.*" At a later date (1581-2) the churchwardens at St. Edmund's, Sarum, paid 4*d.* to the sexton "for a register for the communion booke."

ever side of the marker happened to be uppermost, she had before her eyes the words—

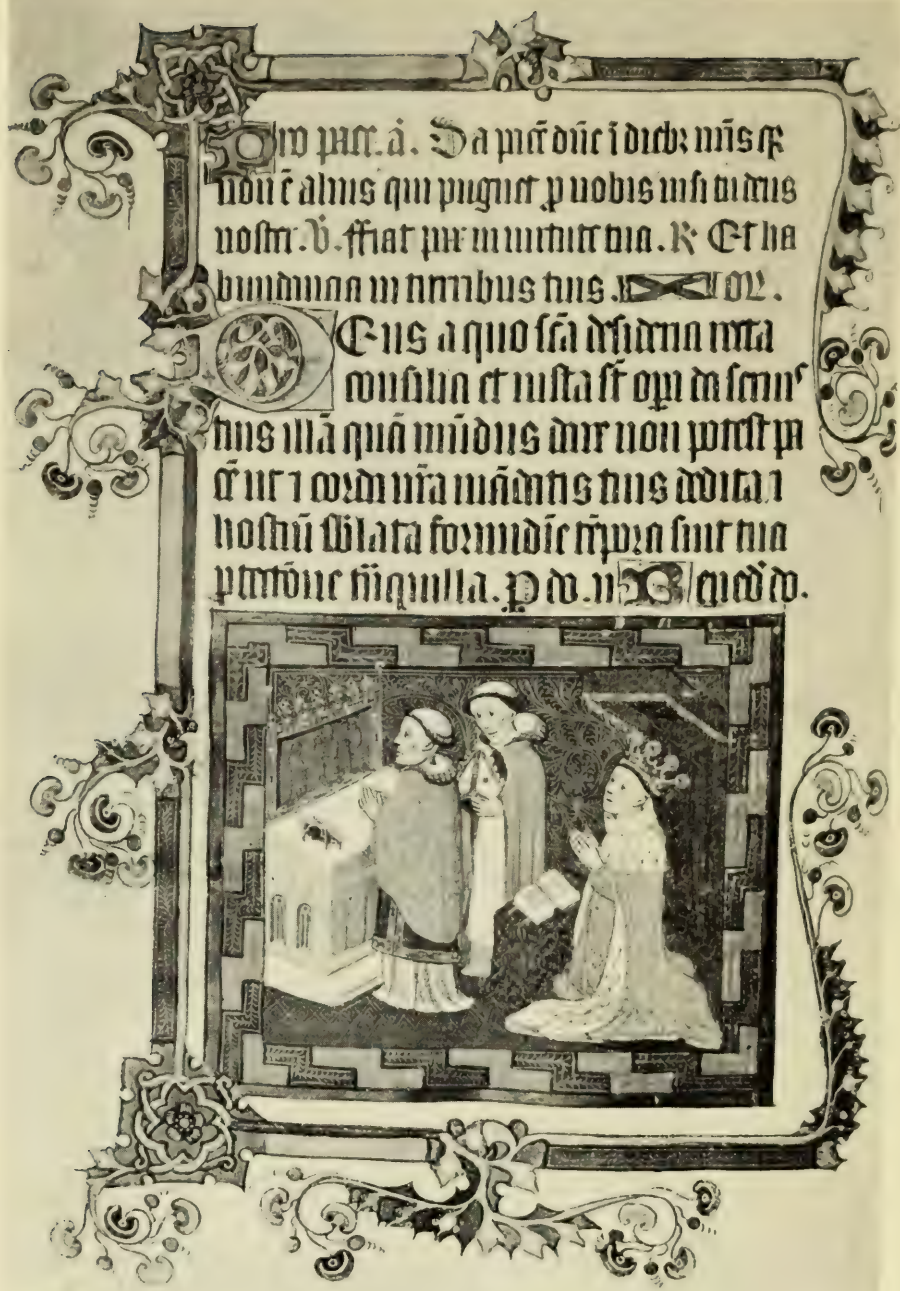
O biit	<i>Obierunt</i>
<i>Fundator</i>	Abbatisse
Soror	<i>Sorores</i>
<i>Focaria</i>	Focarie
Benefactor	<i>Benefactores</i>
<i>Benefactrix</i>	Benefactrices
Huius Monasterij.	

Sacerdos	<i>Sacerdotes</i>
<i>Diaconus</i>	Diaconi
Frater	<i>Fratres</i>
<i>Focarius</i>	Focarij
Huius Congregacionis.	

The vellum attached to the second marker (which is 6 inches in length by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in width) is double, and conceals two revolving discs, except where in each of them one of the numerals written in a circle on the disc is brought opposite a little circular peephole or window (like that in an old-fashioned “grandfather’s clock” dial which shows the day of the month).

At the top stand the words “*aureus numerus*,” and opposite them is the first disc, which bears the golden numbers 1 to 19 written alternately in black and red. Below this are given the words of the clause wherewith the Martyrology section of each day invariably ended, but which the scribe was apt to abbreviate with an “*et cetera*” in the volume: “Et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum Martirum Confessorum atque Virginum.”

Below this are the words of frequent occurrence: “*Obitus* . . . Eodem die obiit . . . *Obierunt*,” as explained above.



A MINIATURE FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY PRYMER

(SHOWING A BOOK-DESK ON THE ALTAR)

From Trinity Coll., Cambridge. MS. B. 11, 7, leaf 31 b

And near the bottom the word "Martilogium," and just above it, to the right hand, a "window," to show one numeral of the second disc, which bears the numbers from 6 to 1 in that inverse order. These no doubt refer to some sections in the Martyrology.

After reading, the sister would probably turn the dial on one point, so as to be ready for her successor to read after Prime next morning; or the "legister" herself would see that the two discs were properly set, before the meeting in Chapter began. (W.)

(xii.) BOOK-RESTS, DESKS, AND CUSHIONS

Canon Rock, in his *Church of our Fathers*, refers to a stone book-rest still projecting from the north chancel wall of the church of Chipping Norton. At Doddington, too, in Kent, is a projecting stone book-rest.

Cushions¹ and little desks were sometimes placed upon the altars to support the Missal. References to such are found in the Durham Account Rolls, A.D. 1441-2, p. 471 (Surtees Society: "*missale cum culcitro pro eodem*"), and in Woodruff's *History of Fordwich*, under date 1501, p. 153.² A facsimile in this volume shows a little wooden

¹ "*Auriculare*" is the word sometimes used for a cushion (Dugd., *Monast.*, vi. p. 1362 (A.D. 1384-5)). "ij. olde pyllows covered with silke for the hye awtre" (*loc. cit.*).

² In the Westminster Abbey Vestry Inventory of 1388 (edited by Dr. Legg) xvj. *cervicalia* and liij. *quissini* are entered. The former were for use somehow in connexion with the altar or altars. At St. Paul's, London, in 1295 were *culcitrae pendules* vj. + xx. (Dugd., 1818, p. 328). At the altar of St. Blaise, in York Minster, 1360, was "*unum missale, cum uno auriculari, et vno desco*" (Fabric Rolls, p. 278). Matilda, wife of J. de Sineton, left to her parish church in York, in 1402, "*j. cervical, anglice a kode, de panno serico*" (Test. Ebor., i. 288). And "*j. lettron pro missali*" was at Finchdale, Durham, in 1481 (Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric*, 1897, p. 32 n.).

desk in use. The miniature on lf. 57b of the MS., No. 48, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge, is reproduced in St. John Hope's *English Altars*. The enlarged reproduction appears to show the cushion more clearly than the original.

The brass eagle and wooden lectern that we see in church to-day were in use in the Middle Ages too: only not then to support a Bible, but the Antiphoner, Gradual, Gospel-book, etc. The miniature on the first page of the Epistle-book, MS. 77, at Trinity College, Oxford, shows a book (which may be supposed to be an Epistle-book) resting open on a lectern. Our Plate at p. 48 contains a reference to "a litell graiel for the lectron."

At Ranworth, in Norfolk, the church contains a very remarkable wooden lectern, of which Canon Jessopp very kindly sends the following note: "It is figured in Dawson Turner's *Illustrations of Norfolk Topography*. The upright back has four staves of music painted on it, with the versicle: "*Gloria tibi, Domine, qui natus es de Virgine, cum Patre & Sancto Spiritu in sempiterna secula. Amen.*"¹
(L.)

(xiii.) STANDARDS

We are not able to explain with certainty the nature of the books called Standards, under date 1503 and 1506-7, in Mr. Leach's *Visitations of Southwell Minster* (Camden Soc., 1891, pp. 71, 72, 76, 81):—

"Libri in choro vulgariter vocati le Standarths."

¹ "*Gloria tibi*," etc. This is the usual Doxology to Sarum hymns (*Brev. Sar.*, i. p. lxxii.; tom. ii., p. 6). A lectern with five singers is shown in a miniature in the Carew-Poyntz Prymer (1350-60). See Dr. James's *Fitzwilliam Museum MSS.*, No. 48, illustration pl. vii., p. 115.

They stood *coram summo altari* (pp. 72, 76), and were to be specially provided with lights. In the dearth of further evidence, however, we may suppose them to have been large music-books, of the nature of "couchers" or "ledger-books," standing on a desk, round which the *cantors* and the *choir* gathered. In the pavement of Lincoln Minster there still remains the marble stone with the inscription "*Cantate hic*," in Lombardic letters, which is mentioned in the Custom-book, *cir.* 1265 (*Liber Niger*, pp. 105, 395), as being the place where the *versus Responsoriorum* were chanted. There were two books "*vocati standerdes*" in the choir at York (*Fabric Rolls*, p. 245), in 1409. (W.)

(xiv.) OF ANCHORITES AND ANKER-HOLDS

An anchorite, or anker, was a man who lived in an anchorage, or anker-hold, which was probably, in most cases, a room in the parish church.¹ A woman so dwelling would be known as an ankress. The Pontifical contains the service for the enclosing of an anchorite, and the Brit. Mus. MS., Lansd., 451, has on lf. 76b a picture of a part of the ceremony (see Plate xxviii).

A succession of ankresses appear to have lived in the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Lincoln, for more than a hundred years (Peacock's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, p. 90). Medieval wills frequently contain bequests of

¹ There are, however, many instances of a hermitage, sometimes in the churchyard, sometimes (as in Marlborough) at a little distance from the church, and sometimes on or near a bridge, or in a "free-chapel." See Gibbons, *Ely Records*, pp. 22, 23 (1399, 1400) *et alibi*; *Yorksh. Chantry Surveys*, i. 110, 158; ii. 375, 426. Hermits were often employed to repair bridges and causeways.

money to anchorites, the place of their dwelling being also specified. In Murray's truly valuable *Historical Dictionary* the earliest reference given is:—

“1393 *Test. Ebor.* IV. 186. xiid to the Ankres of Thurgransby, and vid. to Alison hir mayden.”

The foregoing clearly indicates the presence of an attendant, probably a very unusual addition to any anchorage. At Doddington Church, in Kent, is a very curious recess, possibly connected with a former anchorage. It has two projecting brackets in the wall, one perhaps for a crucifix, the other undoubtedly a book-rest. The subject is very ably dealt with in Cutts's *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*. (L.)

(xv.) THE LAY FOLKS' MASS-BOOK

England was perhaps more forward than other countries in providing some help to the intelligent laity to appreciate the service on which they gave attendance.

While the “*Ancren Riwele*,”¹ or Rule of Anchoritesses (written, it is supposed, by Bishop Ric. Poore, of Sarum, for Tarrant, which he refounded, in Dorset, before 1237), and the *Mirrore of our Lady*, by Dr. Gascoigne, of Merton, Chancellor of Oxford, for the Brigittine nuns of Syon, near Isleworth, about 1440, provided edification for “religious” women, J. Myrc made his instructive verses for the parish priest (*cir.* 1420). These had their counterparts in the information found for the lay folk by the poets Lydgate (1375–1460) and Chaucer, in the “*Medes*

¹ The *Ancren Riwele*, edited by Ja. Merton for the Camden Society in 1853. The *Mirrore of our Lady*, by J. H. Blunt, for E. E. T. Society, in 1873.

(*Merita*) of the Masse" of the one, and the (prose) "Parson's Tale" (on Penance, *cir.* 1386-93) of the other, and by Ri. Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole (d. 1349), and many others who wrote in English, as Grosseteste (1175-1253) and others sometimes had done in French, for the education of those to whom Latin would not be acceptable. To the efforts of Caxton, in a later generation, in putting the "stories" of the Bible, the "noble history of the Mass," etc., into English, and into print (1483), we have referred already (pp. 137-8).

But we may go further back and commend to the reader the late Canon T. F. Simmons's excellent edition (E. E. T. Soc., 1879) of the *Lay Folks' Mass-book*, or manner of hearing Mass, with rubrics and devotions for the people, written in French, *cir.* 1150, by Dan Jeremy (possibly the Archd. of Cleveland, *cir.* 1170), translated into English about 1293, and found in four texts written in various parts of the country between 1375 and 1510. Of this work and of other metrical pieces reproduced from time to time by the Early English Text Society, such as "Ratis Raving" (? 1480), Myrc's "Instructions," and other religious pieces, we have no right to say more here than that they will well reward acquaintance.

In 1538, 5*d.* was paid "pro j. les table, habente oracionem Dominicam, et salutacionem angelicam, et simbolum apostolorum super ea fixa" (*York Fabric Rolls*, p. 109). The erection of this tablet was probably due to Archbishop Edward Lee's injunction, *cir.* 1536-8 (Burnet, *Hist. Ref.*, on bk. iii., document 57; cf. document 59), requiring "curates," etc., to teach their parishioners the *Pater* and *Ave* in English, "at Mattens time, and betwene Mattens and Laudes," and the articles of the *Credo* after

the Creed at Mass, as well as the Ten Commandments "betwene Evensonge and Completorie" on holy days. Such instruction (if it had been neglected) was yet no novelty, for Maskell has traced the institution of such teaching of the lay folk in this country from the seventh century to the sixteenth (*Mon. Rit.*, iii. pp. 1-1v).

"The Lay Folks' Mass-book, or the Manner of Hearing Mass, etc., in four texts, from MSS. of the tenth to the fifteenth century," edited by T. F. Simmons, for the E. E. Text Society, 8vo, 1879.

"Instructions for Parish Priests, by J. Myrc," *cir.* 1420, edited by E. Peacock, for the E. E. Text Society, 1868.

"*Ratis Raving*, and other Moral and Religious Pieces," edited by Dr. J. R. Lumby, for E. E. T. Society, 1870. (W.)

(xvi.) PARDONS OR INDULGENCES

The system of indulgences may be traced to the contemporaries of St. Cyprian in 250, and it came as a received practice to be bound up with the state of things which resulted upon the breaking up of the primitive custom of public penances which were assessed according to a graduated scale in expiation of open and grievous offences. The relaxation of penance enjoined was, according to many popular teachers, made commutable for certain religious acts which at first were assigned only to the sick and those who were disabled from the more austere correction; and then such acts of devotion—prayers, almsdeeds, crusades, etc.—if performed by one "contrite and confessed" (and, if it might, "houselled"), *i.e.* in a state of grace and of Church-communion, were considered to be meritorious, and to have (in common opinion) some sort of equivalent due to them (in virtue of what our English irrefragable doctor, Alexander Hales (d. 1245),

described as the Church's "*treasury*" of superabundant "*merits*" of our Saviour and His saints) in terms of a shortened duration of the pains of purgatory.

A set of penitential canons, supposed to have been compiled by St. Dunstan *cir.* 965, had approved a tariff by which (*e.g.*) a man might redeem a day's fast by the payment of one penny, or the recitation of 220 psalms. By 1184 King Henry II. was employing Hospitallers and Templars to make a collection for a Second Crusade, with a promise of pardons in return. When St. Hugh was enthroned at Lincoln, in 1186, he promised thirteen days' relaxation of penance enjoined, for those who were present on the occasion. In 1215 the Council of the Lateran was constrained to curb the lavish promises of certain bishops, and to restrict them ordinarily to a grant of forty days. The making of minsters, churches, almshouses, and of roads and bridges, was largely encouraged by such grants in subsequent generations; and they were used like the "briefs" and begging petitions of a later age. At last the importunities of *quæstores*, or *quæstuarii*, "limitors," begging and preaching friars, or "pardoners," created a revulsion, and the Tetzelian sale of remissions in aid of the completion of St. Peter's at Rome was the signal for a revolt against the system which kings and councils attempted to restrain, and which poets like Langland (*Piers the Plowman*) and Chaucer, no less than Wyclif and Luther, had held up to scorn.¹

¹ See on the subject *Yorkshire Pardons and Indulgences* (1412-1527), with an historical sketch by C. Wordsworth; *Yorks. Archæol. Soc. Transactions*, xvi. 369-423 (1901); the *Guardian*, 23 Oct., 1901, pp. 1475-6. And cf. J. Heywood's merry play of the *Four PP* (a Palmer, Pardoner, Potycary, and Pedler), *cir.* 1545, reprinted in J. M. Manly's *Pre-Shakesperian Drama*, i. 483-522; Boston, U.S.A., 1897.

Our concern here with indulgences, or “pardons,” as they were called in England, is limited—(1) to their appearance as an inducement to use certain “privileged” devotions written along with them in what were known as “rubric-prymers,” a development from the *Horæ* in its earlier and simpler form; and (2) to their devotional accessories.

(1) It will be sufficient to give three specimens from the Prymer.

(a) From Caxton's *Fifteen Oos*, or supplement to Sarum *Horæ*, 1490-91.

“¶ To euery cristen creature able to receyue pardon, sayeng this antheme and colette folowyng wythin the chirche or chircheyerd, is graunted for euery crysten creature there beryed xl. dayes of pardom†, and xiiij. lentes [*i.e. quadragenas.*]

[The Anthem.] Avete fideles anime . . . (etc.).

Oracio. Oremus.

Miserere, domine, per tuam gloriosam resurrectionem, animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum . . . (etc.).
Requiescant in pace. Amen.”

(b) From a set of rude woodcuts in Lambeth Palace Library (frag. 8).

“¶ The hole indulgence of pardon graunted to blessed. s. Cornelis is .vi. score yer's .vi. score lent's .ii. M. ix. C. & xx. dais of pardon for euermore to endure.”

Above this is a representation of St. Cornelius with his horn and archiepiscopal cross.¹ The main interest of this pardon is that it consists of eight copies (two of them

¹ “Cornely is sayd of *cornu*” is an alternative etymology offered in Caxton's *Golden Legend*, v. 142. For a facsimile of this pardon see S. R. Maitland's *Early Printed Books* at Lambeth, p. 263 (1843).



MASS OF ST. GREGORY, WITH IMAGE OF PITY AND EMBLEMS
OF THE PASSION

(SPEAR, SHIELD, HOLY COAT, CROSS, PILAR AND CORDS, WHIP, VESSEL OF VINEGAR,
HAMMER, SILVER PIECES, DICE, THREE NAILS, PINNERS); ONE LAFER ON THE ALTAR

Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2,982, leaf 9, English miniature, cir. 1450

reversed), still attached together like two sheets of unused postage stamps.

(c) From a brass effigy of Roger (and Elizabeth) Leigh, in Macclesfield church, *cir.* 1506. Behind him appear his family. From his mouth proceeds the scroll: "A dampnacione perpetua libera nos, Domine." Under a representation of the "Mass of St. Gregory," our Lord appearing above the altar, surrounded by the "arms" or instruments of His Passion,¹ is the inscription:—

"The pardon for saying of v. pater noster & v. aues and a cred is xxvj. thousand yeres and xxvj. dayes of pardon.

"Orate pro animabus . . . (etc.) . . . qui . . . obijt .iiij. die Nouembris Anno domini M^o v^c. vj^o. . . . quorum animabus propicietur deus."²

(2) An indulgence granted to Sir H. Fitzhugh and E., his wife, by the Trinitarian Order of St. Robert by Knaresborough (English Mathurines) for the Redemption of Captives, A.D. 1412, is on vellum, measuring $23\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and is the property (with similar pardons) of the Rev. C. S. Slingsby, of Scriven Park. Such documents commonly bore a pendent seal, and were usually receipted for a small sum by one of the brotherhood.³ This sets forth the confirmation by Pope John XXIII. of grants made by his predecessors with his own addition of six years' and eighty days' remission of penance enjoined. It gives the grantees, who were in the Confraternity of Associates, licence to choose their own confessors, and to receive absolution for any offences not specially reserved to the Apostolic See (as were simony, striking a

¹ On the Instruments of the Passion see E. E. Text Soc., Ri. Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, 1871, pp. 170-192; *Collected Papers* of H. Bradshaw, pp. 88-95; App. to *Directorium Sacerdotum*, ii. pp. 646-658, and plates i.-viii. *ibid.*

² Reproduced in the new edition of Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, iii. 60.

³ "Geue me but a peny or two pens" . . . "I aske but two pens at the moste," says the Pardoner (*Foure PP.*, ll. 147, 348).

clerk, etc., but not incest, homicide, sacrilege, witchcraft, etc., for which any bishop might absolve). Ecclesiastical burial was not to be denied them. The confessor might further commute any vows which they had made for any pilgrimage save to the *limina apostolorum*, or to St. James of Compostella, in Gallicia, for other works of piety. He might also grant them on their deathbeds plenary remission of all sins, if they were confessed and contrite, and ordinary remission as often as required. The presentation of the letters after the parties' death, in the Chapter of the house, would secure them the performance of the Service of Commendation of the Departed on the same terms as if they were professed members of the brotherhood.

The liturgical forms endorsed are : (a) Absolution and prayers for use by the Confessor after hearing their confession ; (b) the like, *in articulo mortis*, the person, if able to do so, to join in the *Miserere*, and *In te, Domine, speravi*.

See Yorkshire Archeol. Soc. *Transactions*, xvi. pp. 369-423, where I have edited (Nov., 1901) Mr. Slingsby and Mr. Lister's Knaresborough Pardons, with a list of many English Indulgences, and some attempt at a bibliography of the subject. For an example of the "Mass of St. Gregory" see our plate No. 36 ; also several appended to *Direct. Sacer.*, vol. ii. ; and the new edition of Rock's *Church of our Fathers* (1903), i. 44, 46 ; iii. 60, 63. (W.)

Had space allowed we might have added a few words about the LIBER EXORCISMORUM : but we are unable to point to any English example beyond those ordinary forms which were included in the Manual. I have recently contributed a paper on "*Exorcisms, Adjurations, &c.*" (*à propos* of "*Two Yorkshire Charms or Amulets*" (early thirteenth century), now in the possession of Mr. W. Richardson, of Guisborough, with facsimiles), to the *Transactions of the Yorkshire Archæological Society*, vol. xvii., pp. 377-412. On Exorcists' books, see especially pp. 379-88. (W.)

(xvii.) THE ROYAL TOUCH—CRAMP-RINGS

Strictly speaking, the forms with which we are here concerned are best known in post-Reformation shape, but the ceremonies date back to earlier times.

But both means of miraculous cure are traced to King Edward the Confessor¹ (*N. & Q.*, 1st S. vi. p. 603), who cured scrofula by his royal touch, and also on his death-bed (1065-6) gave the Abbot of Westminster the ring which had been given him by the mysterious pilgrim from Jerusalem. The ring, it is said, was acquired by the chapel of Havering, in Hornchurch, Essex, and the circumstance of the miraculous gift was represented in a stained window at Romford, in that neighbourhood. In the fifteenth century, silver was taken from the King's offering (temp. Hen. IV. and Edw. IV.) to make "medijcinable rings" for the cure of the falling sickness (*comitialis morbus*) and also for cramp (*contracta membra*). In 1500 Dame Elizabeth Hylle, of London, widow, bequeathed "a litle crampe rynge of golde vpon my fyngar" (Somerset House Wills, Moone, lf. xxiii. 9). Lord Berners, when abroad, at Saragossa, in 1518, wrote to beg "my lord Cardinal's grace" for the bestowal of "some crampe rynge";² and Andrew Boorde, in his *Breviary of Health*, 1547, 1557, says that "the kyng's majestie hath a great helpe in this matter, in halowing of crampe ringes, and so given without money or petition." In 1838 the belief in such rings, apart from the royal touch, survived in Suffolk in a more superstitious form, where nine young men in a parish each contributed a

¹ Cf. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, iv. 3.

² Cited by Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, iii. 383, without reference. For the originals of J. Bouchier, Lord Berners' letters, see *Athenæ Oxon.*, Wood-Bliss, i. 73.

crooked sixpence, to be moulded into a ring for the benefit of a young woman subject to epileptic fits (*N. & Q.*, 1st S. vii. p. 89).

Among the [*John and Symon*] *Patrick Papers* in Cambridge University Library, No. 44, art. 10 consists of "Certayn Prayers to be used by the Queen's Highnes in the Consecration of Cramp Ryngs" ("out of an elegant MS. in Mr. Smith's library at Moorfields," probably the same as Bishop Burnet used), consisting of 3 pp. 4to. And three other copies, belonging to the nonjuror and antiquary, Thomas Baker, "*socius eiectus*" of St. John's College, Baker MS. 40=Camb. Univ. Mm. i. 51, § 1 (pp. 1-3), and in St. John's Coll., Cam. MS., L. 13, a copy in Archbishop Sancroft's hand, presented to Baker by the loyal Bishop W. Lloyd, of Norwich. The form was printed in P. Heylin's *Examen Historicum*, 1659, pp. 48, 49.¹ The copy at St. John's contains among various occasional forms: "When y^e King toucheth y^e sick of y^e K^s Evil," ff. 28b-30; "Certain Praiers to be used by y^e Q[ueen's] Highnesse in y^e consecracione of y^e Crampring," 30b; *Modus et forma, quibus utitur Rex Angliæ in sanandis strumosis*, 39. The subjects of the dated documents in the same collection range from 1551 to 1644. "*The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be diseased with the King's Evil, as they were practised in the time of King Henry VII.*" [1485-1509] were printed by H. Hills in 1686, 4to, for the use of King James II., and "his houshold and chappel," and were reprinted from a copy in the British Museum in S. Pegge's *Curialia Miscellanea*, 1818, 8vo, pp. 154-60, and W. Maskell's

¹ See also *Hist. of the Garter*, by J. Anstis the elder (Garter K., 1718-44), ad ann. 2 Hen. VII., 1486, 1487, pp. 223, 224.

Mon. Rit., ed. 2, 1882, iii. pp. 386-90. Also by Bishop Sparrow. Prayers *At the Healing* are contained in the 3rd ed. of Hamon L'Estrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*, 1690, Queen Anne's form being given in addition to the older one in the modern reprint, pp. 559, 566. Dr. Sam. Johnson himself was touched for the evil by Queen Anne, when he was two and a half years old, in the spring of 1712. The Latin form continued in the Latin version of the Prayer Book as late as 1759. The English appeared as an occasional service appended to some editions of the Common Prayer in 1707 (1710, folio), 1712, and 1713. The proclamation of 9th January, 1683, is printed in Pegge's *Curialia*, pp. 141-4. A reference to it appears in the Churchwardens' Book of Stanford-in-the-Vale, among disbursements in 1684: "for A booke of articles and the King's Declaration concerning touching, and for fees, 2s. 6d."¹ Likewise at Marlborough (1684) "For the Order for touchinge, 1s."

The Ceremonies of blessing Cramp-rings on Good Friday, used by the Catholick Kings of England, was printed by Maskell (*Mon. Rit.*, iii. 391-7) from a MS. in his own possession, written about 1685. He cites an older MS., in which the Queen mentioned may be either Elizabeth of York (1488) or Katherine of Aragon (1510). The ceremony was connected with the Creeping to the Cross in the Chapel Royal on Good Friday. Burnet mentions that such rings were sent as presents by A. Boleyn (*Records*, ii. 2, No. 24). The Latin form used *cir.* 1554 by Queen

¹ In that same Berkshire parish just fifty years ago the vicar detected the parish clerk abstracting or exchanging certain silver coins from the alms-dish, with a view to dispose of certain coins taken from the "communion-money" as an ingredient in some charm for which the old man was famous.

Mary Tudor is printed in Burnet's *Hist. Ref.*, "from R. Smith's MS." (*Records*, ii. 2, No. 25). See also Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 103. Broken gold and silver was delivered to Ro. Raynes in 1556 by her, "to make crampe rings." Kings Charles II., before his return in 1660, touched many in Breda, Bruges, and Brussels. See also S. Pepys, *Diary*, 23 June, 1660; 13 April, 1661; 10 April, 1667.

The books of St. Mary's, Bridgewater, contain memoranda of certificates furnished to scrofulous persons, about to be touched by the King, to the effect that they "had not before been touched by his Sacred Majesty for the King's Evil" (*Somerset Arch. and N. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1877, p. 32).

The order given by Heylin is as follows:—

"The form of the Service at the healing of the *King's-evil*.

"The first Gospel [St. *Mark* xvi. 14 to end] is exactly the same with that on Ascension Day. At the touching of every infirm person these words are repeated, '*They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.*'

"The second Gospell begins the first [chapter] of St. *John*, and ends at these words, '*Full of grace and truth.*' [As on Christmas Day.] At the putting the Angell¹ about their necks were repeated, '*That Light was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*'

"'Lord, have mercy [etc.]. Our Father [etc.].

"'Min. O Lord, save thy servants. Ans. Which, etc.

"'Min. Send unto them help, etc. Ans. And evermore, etc.

"'Min. Help us, O God our Saviour. Ans. And for the glory, etc.

"'Min. O Lord, hear our Prayer. Ans. And let, etc.

"'The Collect.

"'Almighty God, the eternal health of all such as put their trust in thee, hear us, we beseech thee, on the behalf of these

¹ Angels, or gold pieces bearing an effigy of St. Michael piercing the dragon, were struck from the time of King Henry VI. to the reign of King Charles I., in value from 6s. 8d. to 10s. There were also "angelets" (half-angels).

thy servants, for whom we call for thy merciful help, that they receiving health may give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*' [Cf. *Missale Sarum*, p. 799*.]

“ ‘The peace of God, etc.’

“This is the whole form” (*Examen Hist.*, pp. 48, 49, 8vo, [1659]).

Heylin no doubt was referring to the prayers used by King Charles I., of which there is a specimen, two leaves folio, *cir.* 1634, in the British Museum, 3,406, f. 5 (2). There are also folio editions of the time of Charles II., *cir.* 1670 and 1680 (3,406, e. 2, and 3,406, f. 9), as well as the 4to, pp. 12, and the 12mo, pp. 22, both printed early in the time of James II., by H. Hills in 1686 (3,407, c. 101; 3,406, b. 48, etc.). According to these forms, which follow that of King Henry VII., the King was to say, *In nomine*, etc., *Benedicite* (to require the Chaplain's blessing), and *Confiteor*. The “chirurgion” was to lead away the sick persons after the King had “handled” them, and a long prayer, “*Dominator Domine, Deus omnipotens, cuius benignitate caeci vident*,” etc., was to be said secretly by the King after their departure.

The *Forma Strumosos Attrectandi* which is appended to T. Parsell's Latin Prayer Book, 1706, etc., was drawn up for Queen Anne. “*Regina*” appears in the rubrics of 1716, on the old lines, but conformably, so far as might be, to the Prayer Book, with two of the collects drawn from thence.

Maskell has printed from a MS. formerly in his own possession, and written about 1685, a form in English:—

“*The Ceremonies of blessing Cramp-rings,
on Good-Friday, used by the Catholick
Kings of England.*”

As, for instance, by King Henry VII. about 1500. It was printed in 1694, and was reprinted in 1792 by F. G. Waldron (*Literary Museum*), and by Pegge in 1818 (*Curialia Misc.*, pp. 164 72, as well as by Burnet and Maskell. Burnet gives the form used by Queen Mary Tudor on Good Friday at the ceremony of "Creeping to the Cross." It is a long form, beginning with *Ps. Deus misereatur*, lxvii. The King says, "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ad solatium," etc. "Deus celestium terrestriumque conditor,"¹ is said over the rings placed in one or more basons; and they are hallowed with "Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, exaudi misericors preces," etc., and "Deus, qui in morbis curandis." After *Ps. Benedic, anima mea, primum ciii.* (=cii. Vulg.), and the prayer "Immensam clementiam tuam, misericors Deus, humiliter imploramus,"² the King (or Queen) then rubs the rings between the hands, saying, "Sanctifica, Domine, annulos istos, et rore tue benedictionis," etc. Holy water is cast upon the rings, "In nomine," etc. "Domine, Fili Dei unigenite, Dei et hominum mediator," etc.

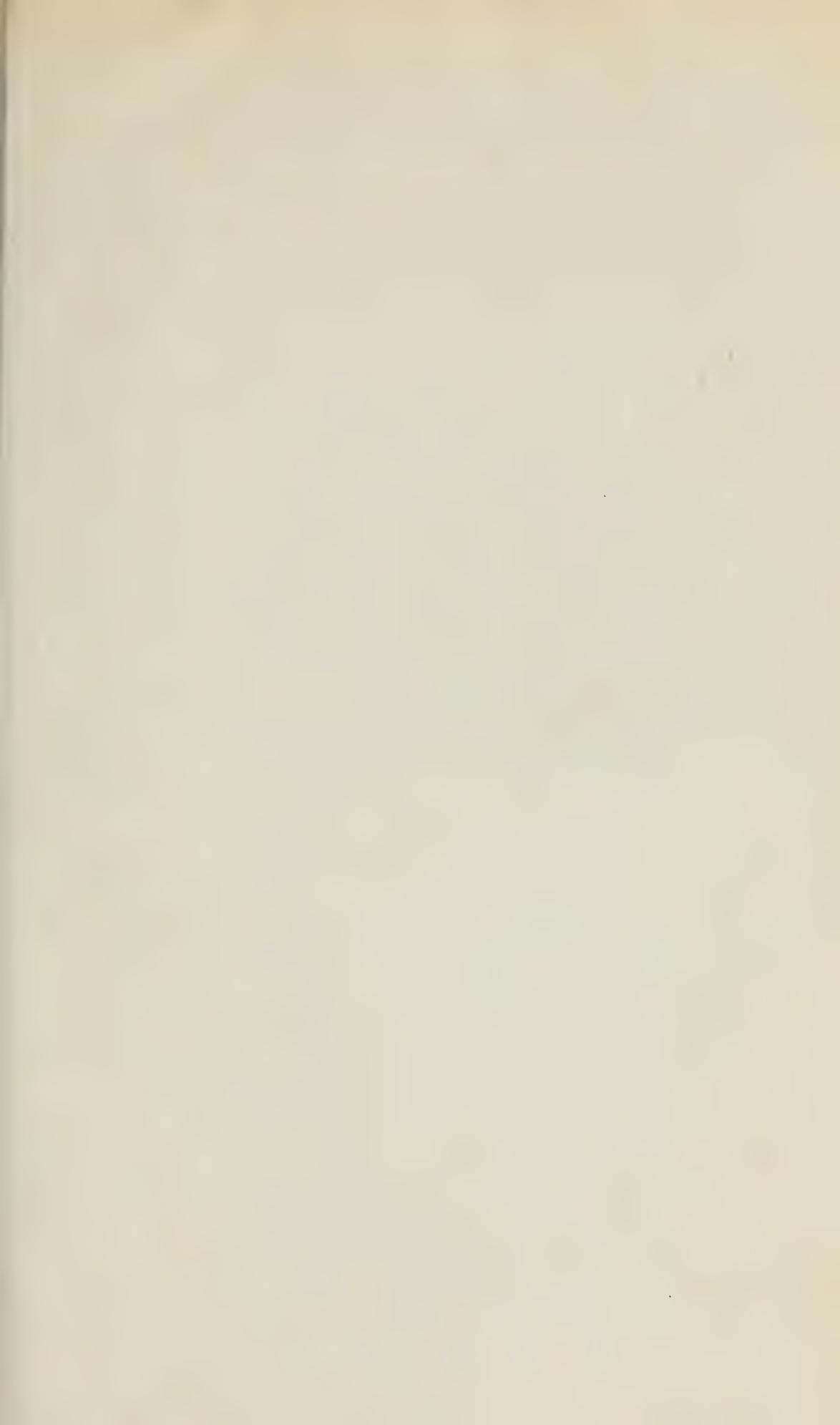
"Vota nostra quaesumus, Domine, Spiritus Sanctus, qui a te," etc.,³ and "Maiestatem tuam, clementissime Deus, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, suppliciter exoramus, etc. Qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."⁴ (W.)

¹ Cf. *Lacy Pontifical*, p. 146. Coron. of King Charles I., p. 40 n., and *Westm. Missal*, ii. 703.

² The opening of this prayer is derived from the *Exorcismus Salis*. Cf. *Westm. Missal*, i. 1; *Salisbury Ceremonies*, p. 19, etc.

³ A variant of the collect, *ibid.*, i. 71: cf. the post-Communion, i. 337.

⁴ An expansion of the *Secreta*, *Leofric*, p. 124 (xxi. post-Pentecost).



1.



BAPTISM.

4.



DEVOTION.

2.



MATRIMONY.

5



THE MASS.

3.



EXTREME UNCTION.

6.



COMMUNION.

Full Size

Miniatures from the Pontifical and Prymer.

1, 2, and 3 are from the fifteenth century Pontifical; Brit. Mus. MS Lansd. 451
4, 5, and 6 are from the fifteenth century Prymer, Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2915

APPENDIX

THE FACSIMILES

THE facsimiles in this volume may be divided into three classes.

First, those which show the actual appearance of pages of volumes which were the common books of parish churches before the Reformation. A page of every one of these books is given, each page having been selected to show the distinctive appearance of the book it represents.

The second class consists also of reproductions of whole pages of books, but they are taken from books of various kinds—from those containing directions for services, those used by lay people, those in use for a certain period, those belonging to the episcopal office, those of exceptional age or appearance, etc., etc.

The third class consists of reproductions of whole pages and parts of pages. These exhibit the forms of decoration of service-books, the pictures usually to be found in certain places in certain books, pictures portraying scenes in churches, depicting as they actually appeared—the altar during service, reception of the Communion, baptism, wedding, the bedside at the administration of Extreme Unction, etc.

In this class, too, are to be found those facsimiles which reproduce the entries of births, etc., in the family prayer-book and the various notes inserted therein by former owners. Also this class comprises those which exhibit the manner in which a translation of the book into the English of the time was

inserted between the lines of the original writing. In this class, too, may be seen the occasional appearance of the text of the book in English, as in certain services was required. And in this connexion it may be observed that many hundreds of years lie between the English as reproduced from the Vespasian Psalter (see Plate ix.) and that from the Manual (Plate xxvi.). In this class also will be found reproductions of the handwriting in England for many centuries.

Each facsimile in all three classes tells a story of the period in which the original was written and used.

In the reproduced page from the Vespasian Psalter the reader virtually has before him the very page on which English monk, knight, and scholar looked more than twelve hundred years ago.

The page of the Epistle-book reproduced is in all essentials the same from which the priest of the old church of St. Mary in Aldermanbury, not far from the present Bank of England, read the Epistle on many Christmas-days before the Reformation.

The reproductions, generally speaking, are somewhat smaller than the originals. In some cases the size is the same, in a few the originals are much larger. The form of the letters and appearance of the page is, however, exactly reproduced in all respects. Every facsimile has been taken from English books. Where necessary, colour has been introduced, such colours following faithfully in all cases those of the original illumination.

A few plates call for some further notice than the space beneath the reproduction affords.

Plate ii. is a reproduction of the inventory of the books of a London city church in 1472. It is to be remarked that the Hymnal is not in any way indicated: but medieval inventories of church books frequently make no mention of books which must certainly have been in use. Possibly such omissions may be accounted for by the supposition that such volumes were the private property of the rector or vicar. Or perhaps the choir may have sung standing beside a "breviary noted" or an anti-



GROTESQUES

1-4. From the Norwich Psalter, B Vol., Oxon. MS. Doria, 366. No. 5. From Salisbury Gospel-book, Brit. Mus. Harl. 7,026. No. 6. From Pontifical. Brit. Mus. Lansd. 451

phoner which contained the music to the hymns. This inventory is not a very remarkable one, but the mention of a breviary for the organ is unusual.

Plate xxxvi. displays very clearly the arrangement of a medieval altar. The candle on the left (heraldically) illustrates the lines of the *Instructions for Parish Priests*, Early English Text Society, vol. xxxi., p. 55:—

“Loke þat þy candel of wax hyt be
On þe lyfte half of þyn autere.”

One candle, it should be noticed: the *minimum* required by English Canon Law (Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. tit. 23, “*Linteamina*,” et infra, “*duo candelæ, vel ad minus una*”).

Plate ix. at p. 113, a reproduction of a page of a seventh-century Psalter, supplies the first eight verses of the 98th Psalm in both Latin and English. This page provides the means of an interesting comparison of old English with the far later text of the Book of Common Prayer.

Plate xxxv., a reproduction of a page of the common medieval Prayer-book (the Prymer), provides a fifteenth-century Latin version of the Collect for Peace in the Book of Common Prayer.

Plate xxxviii. reproduces several Grotesques from different service-books. A distinguished scholar tells us that perhaps such a page hardly accords with the dignity of our subject. These Grotesques are, however, constantly met with in service-books, and form an undoubted feature of such volumes. Such a fact cannot well be ignored, and though wholly in agreement with our friend that they are quite out of place in service-books, yet they are a part of such and are, too, of interest, not only for their clever character, but because they show that such art was not thought inconsistent by our fathers, whose artistic powers found scope in gargoyles, misereres, and in the humorous treatment of scriptural subjects in their miracle plays.

So far as the present writers are aware, Grotesques are not commonly, if ever, found in the Mass-book or Manual, where, in proximity with the solemn words of these two books, their

presence would be very distasteful. That they should appear in the Gospel-book is surprising, but it is certain that in no case does their presence indicate the least intentional want of respect. The title-page of the Great Breviary of 1531 has a border of grotesques, such as a centaur, and other quaint monsters.

(L.)

Affer tecum et libros :

*maxime autem mem-
branas.*

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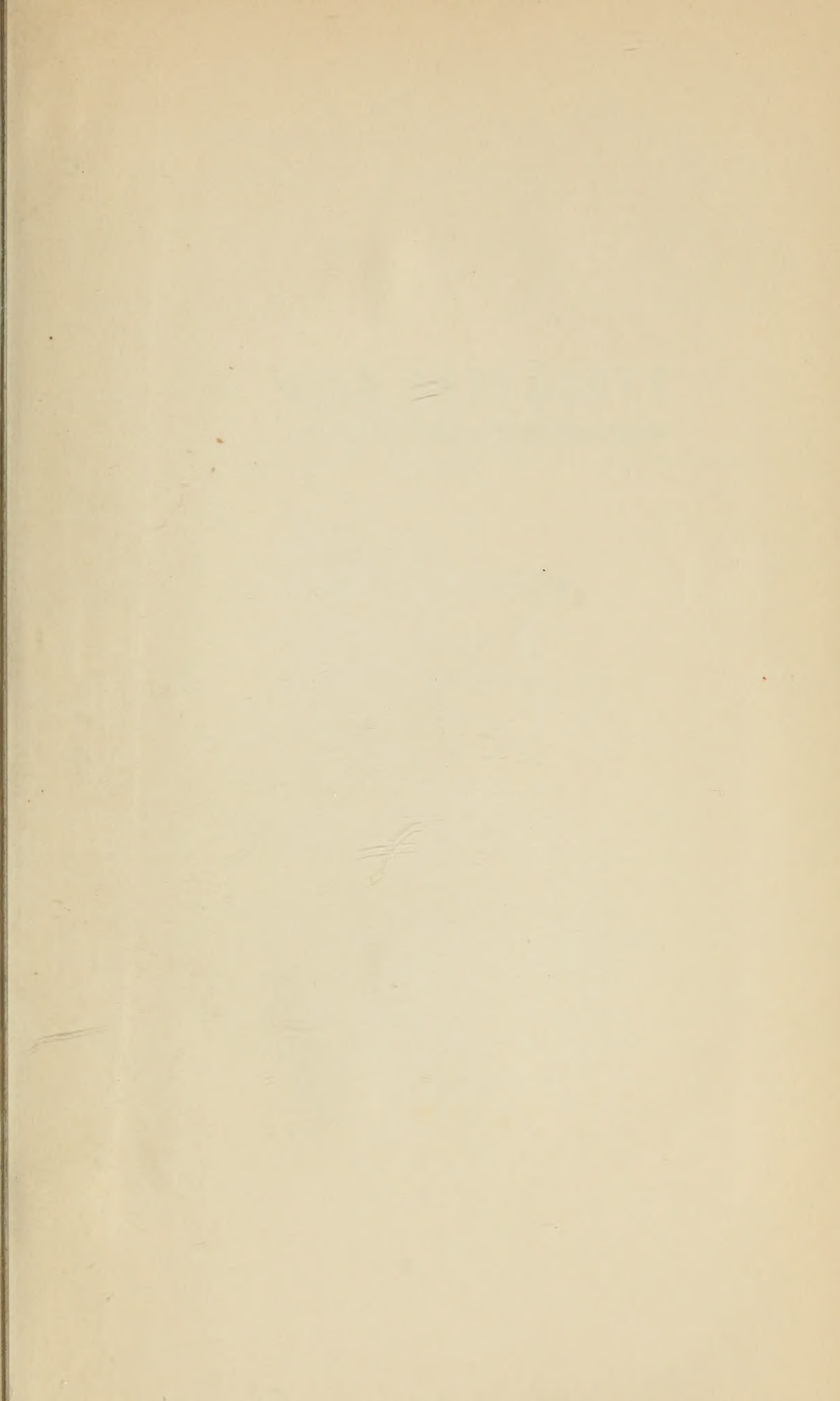
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